Washington College Review

a liberal arts journal

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A Liberal Arts Journal

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Cover Art: *Side Effects May Include…*

by Corinne Saul

Installation of photographs and porcelain masks

Side Effects May Include… examines society's obsession with "quick-fix" medications, specifically antidepressants and their role in masking the true self with a chemically altered persona. "Side effects may include…" is a phrase included in every medication commercial to warn of the side effects that could potentially be harmful. Having known people who have been medicated, I know the effects it can have on the body and mind, negative and positive. This project evokes the uneasy feelings associated with these effects. These feelings range from sadness, anxiety, numbness, and back to sadness again.

Side Effects May Include… is composed of photographs and porcelain masks. The photographs are layered self-portraits. Each image depicts an emotion that is associated with the effects of antidepressants and hung in a line at an intimate level, like one is laying on a bed. The masks are displayed on the ground below the photographs. Every mask is a different weight to represent the dosage and the effects, whether negative or positive. The viewer is encouraged to hold and examine, even try on the masks, understanding that the lightest mask is frail and unhelpful, the second is just the right amount, and the third is too heavy and weighs the mind and body down.

This installation examines the emotions behind anti-depressants and the mesh of reality and a make-believe reality of the mask. *Side Effects May Include…* challenges viewers to reexamine their own lives and the masks they use in day-to-day life.

The *Washington College Review* is a liberal arts journal that seeks to recognize the best of undergraduate student writing from all disciplines of the College and to publish work deserving of wider availability to readers in the College community and beyond.

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A Word From The Editor

This fall, two important changes will come to the campus of Washington College.

The first is visual, a bricks-and-mortar addition. After almost three (long) years, the renovation to the Gibson Center for the Arts will be complete. Included in this spectacular new space are flexible rehearsal halls for music, theater and dance; a concert recital hall; a small theater performance space inspired by the Greeks and a stunning art gallery ready to receive some of the world's finest visual art pieces. Students will have the opportunity to create work that challenges their senses, inspires their minds and bodies, and tells the stories of their lives.

The second is curricular. Incoming first-year students will enroll in the newly created Global Perspectives: Research and Writing seminars. Developed to respond to the needs of a fast-moving yet academically sound world, these seminars will cultivate the students' abilities in academic research, presentation and discourse. Seminar topics range from world theater to global warming to science fiction cinema to religions of the world.

I mention these "revolutions" because here, in the pages of this issue of the *Washington College Review*, students, already remarkably creative, have gone global.

Students at Washington College have the opportunity to study abroad in thirty different countries, as well as do field work in the United States everywhere from the backyard of the Chesapeake Bay (in the new Chesapeake Semester) to the annual Habitat for Humanity trip in Georgia. And are they ever taking advantage of these offerings. Bess Trout '09 found the heartbeat of the environmental movement in Ecuador, Capella Meurer '09 looks at child-rearing among the Aboriginal peoples of Australia and, closer to home, Aileen Brenner '09 recalls her Los Angeles childhood and Michael Alexander '09 advocates for shifts in U.S. foreign policy.

In addition to pushing domestic boundaries, WC students are asking the hard questions about how they live. Arielle Brown '09 investigates the role text messaging plays in relationships, Jess Hobbs '09 looks at lesbian subtexts in great films, Derek Trott '09 tries out a personality theory while Erin O'Hare '09 probes deeply into *Othello* to find a new paradigm for identity. What emerges from these essays is a generation looking beyond their front yards, beyond their iPhones, their laptops. They are charged, by themselves and by each other, to connect ideas, people, images that were previously isolated or ignored and have shaped them to address their ever-changing world. They have succeeded, in my opinion, on every level.

Embedded in the essays are images and pictures made with words. The writers at Washington College, already celebrated, have found new ways to reflect their world through their poetry, while the visual artists, buoyed by the campus surroundings and the interior of their minds, have transcended the frame into full-blown installations. What will come next is anyone's guess.

As the class of 2013 begins their journey and takes advantage of all the campus has to offer—old and new—their upperclassmen peers are forging for them a path upon which they continue to follow, or digress. The world—in all its glory, machinations, and trials—is their oyster. The rest of us are just along for the ride.

The journey would not be as fulfilling without the input of my fellow editors—Professors Dubrow, McCabe, Pearson, Reynolds and Weiss. Professors Dubrow and Reynolds are tackling the *Review* for the first time and, sadly, this is Professor Pearson's last issue. We have been fortunate to have as student editor Laura Walter '10, who has shaped this issue beautifully. Guiding her, and us, has been the fantastic College Relations Office. I must also thank both the Wednesday night meeting group and the Drama Department for support and stress relief.

Michele Volansky
Editor, *Washington College Review*

The Effects of Excessive Reliance on Text Messaging for the Maintenance of Romantic Relationships in a College Population

Arielle Brown

Introduction

In the modern day college atmosphere, healthy monogamous relationships between two individuals are unusual. There are many potential explanations for this deficiency: pressure to perform successfully in the academic environment, increased temptation for infidelity due to the "party atmosphere" that many universities possess, or even the sheer number of potential options that any individual may have. The list can go on, but naming a true cause would be nothing more than conjecture. Each of the previously listed suggestions of cause are viable rationales, yet perhaps further insight into the complex relationship-maintenance strategies of college students can be understood by analyzing the direct methods of communication being used. Advances in communicative technologies have made their presence known on college campuses across the country and are praised for their convenience and expediency, yet perhaps these methods of indirect communication are causing more harm than good.

Text messaging, also known as a *short message service* (SMS), has become one of the world's most popular mobile applications, with

over 243 million reported subscribers in the U.S. as of June 2007 (Mahatanankoon & O'Sullivan, 2008). The young adult population has quickly accepted this feature of mobile phones because it is quicker, more convenient, and less expensive than other technologies, *and* it allows the individual to multitask (Bryant, Sanders-Jackson, & Smallwood, 2006).

Similar to other *computer-mediated communication* (CMC) technologies like the Internet, instant messaging, and telephones, the initial purpose of text messaging was to expedite the performance of task-oriented goals (Hu, Smith, Westbrook, & Wood, 2006). However, teenagers, more than any other age group, have incorporated the application into their social lives, using it as a common form of communication with their friends and romantic partners. This is where the previously stated problem of college students' abilities to successfully maintain healthy romantic relationships comes into play. If college students are incorporating SMS as a source of communication between their respective romantic partners, to what extent are these textual relays replacing conversations that a couple would typically discuss *face-to-face* (FtF)? Further, how does the absence of the partners' visual presence affect the quality/outcome of both the discussion at hand and the relationship as a lasting whole? Both of these questions have been given little attention in previous research experiments. This is mainly due to the novelty of the text message application. Relevant research that *has* been done examines the usage of the Internet versus FtF conversation, and analyzes the difference in both the rate and intensity of romantic attraction formation through the two mediums. Various studies have concluded with conflicting results, some claiming that CMC helps the development of intimacy, while others claim that CMC hinders it.

Original Intent of Internet Use

With the wide variety of uses the Internet provides individuals from all demographic backgrounds in modern day society, few know its original intended use. Surprisingly, the Internet was created unintentionally through the linking together of

computers for data exchange. Creators found that they could send simple messages from one computer to another to achieve various task-oriented goals (Walther, 1996). This is where the initial term "Computer-mediated communication (CMC)" originated. "[CMC] is a process of human communication via computers, involving people, situated in particular contexts, engaging in processes to shape media for a variety of purposes" (Bubas, 2001, p. 2). With this new application of the technology in hand, one of the first CMC-based software, known as "Groupware," was created. This program was specifically designed for group or collaborative tasks implemented in business corporation settings (Bubas, 2001). What distinguished this program as a superior method of group collaboration and consensus was its ability to expedite the decision-making process in ways that FtF would not be able to facilitate. Groupware accomplished this task in ways that are both straightforward in concept and those that are more abstract. On a direct level, Bubas (2001) points out that Groupware is preferable to FtF because:

1. It reduces the need for travel expenses for individuals who would otherwise not be able to attend a meeting.
2. It speeds up the decision-making process because individuals can connect together at a mutual time from different locations.
3. It better communicates points/perspectives because individuals are able to take the time to gather their thoughts into a cohesive written presentation.

However, there are several more complex reasons why Groupware has a positive effect on group-decision making, and they all have to do with the program being a CMC-based medium. The two main conceptual aspects that remain consistent through most types of CMC are that they provide visual anonymity and asynchronous communication (Walther, 1996). As a result, there is a reduction in the view of other communicating participants as social beings and a resulting increase in the feeling of depersonalization; this phenomenon is known as *Social Presence Theory* (Short, Williams & Christie, 1976 as cited in Bubas, 2001). Based

on this medium-facilitated effect, Walther (1996) points out that task-oriented decision-making abilities in groups are enhanced due to:

1. A reduction in emotion and a resulting increase in rational thought.
2. Less focus is placed on irrelevant social influences such as status and gender, so individuals who feel inferior in FtF discussions will feel more comfortable in voicing their perspectives when their identity is concealed.
3. Reduced ability for dominant personalities to control the flow of conversation, so more equal participation results.

The assertion that CMC is better suited to effectively and expediently accomplish task-oriented goals is based upon the *Media Richness Theory* (Daft & Lengel, 1986), which states that different medias vary in richness based upon three things:

1. The speed at which information can be sent and replied to.
2. The number of cues (both verbal and nonverbal) that can be conveyed.
3. The ability to use natural language that isn't terse and abbreviated.

The media richness theory states that rich medias (e.g., FtF) have an extremely fast information exchange rate, allow many verbal *and* nonverbal cues to be conveyed, and are conducive to using natural language. As a consequence, rich medias are best suited for "socially and intellectually sensitive subjects" (Hu, Smith, Westbrook, and Wood, 2006), while lean medias (e.g. Internet) are better suited for task-oriented goals. These deductions about the utility of various communication mediums are what are referred to as the *Cues-Filtered-Out* perspective (Culnan & Markus, 1987 as cited in Hu et al. 2006), which states that reduced physical presence and the resulting nonverbal cues (e.g., body posture, gestures, eye contact, etc.) should accordingly make all CMC less personal than FtF. However, as the Internet began to extend into other realms of more intimate interpersonal interaction, the cues-filtered-out perspective was dismissed, and even today is still the catalyst of much controversy in its validity.

Adapted Social Functions of the Internet

As the Internet gained popularity, easier access was available to the general population and its functional nature adapted as well. What was initially seen solely as a means for accomplishing task-oriented goals became a medium whose major function is to help individuals maintain pre-existing relationships or create new ones (Bryant, Sanders-Jackson, & Smallwood, 2006). According to The Pew Internet & American Life Project, as of May 2008, 92% of the U.S. population who accessed the Internet used e-mail as a means of communicating with friends, family, and work associates (Morris, & Stevens, 2007). Implementation of CMC into daily social lives is most pronounced in the college population—specifically in the use of the *Instant-Messaging* (IM) application (Jones et al., 2002 as cited in Hu et al., 2006). According to the Pew Internet & American Life Project, approximately 86% of college students in the U.S. use the Internet, compared to only 59% of the general population. Furthermore, of those college students who do use the Internet, three-quarters of them use Instant-Messaging, while only half of the general population who use the Internet report doing so. And, of that same sample of college students, 72% report that most of their online communication is with friends.

The Internet has become a powerful resource for maintaining relationships with individuals that one would otherwise not be able to have such consistent communication with. However, Internet use took another interesting turn, as it became a means of *initiating* romantic relationships. According to The Pew Internet & American Life Project, approximately 37% of all single individuals in the U.S. have reported going to online dating websites and many have reported a positive experience. Further, 17% of those individuals report having entered into a long-term relationship or even marrying an individual whom they initially met online (The Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2006).

Positive Aspects of the Internet as a Dating Medium

Why is it that such a significant number of individuals feel compelled to search out romantic attractions through CMC versus

through the conventional method of FtF communication? Based on the previously discussed media richness theory, one would think that the Internet would be a less-appropriate medium for initiating intimate interpersonal interaction due to its low rate of interaction speed and its deficiency in nonverbal cues. However, several studies and researchers have found compelling evidence suggesting that, in some circumstances, CMC can be more personal than FtF communication.

A relevant example of this deviation from the cues-filtered-out perspective is shown in a study by Antheunis, Peter, & Valkenburg (2007). The researchers conducted an experiment in which subjects were placed into one of three groups: a text-only CMC condition, a visual CMC condition, and an FtF condition. The subjects were then asked to get to know their partners through the assigned medium as well as they could during the allotted amount of time. The results showed that interpersonal attraction was enhanced in solely the *text-only* CMC condition (Antheunis et al., 2007). There are two main explanations for the obtained data, and both are based upon two separate theories of interpersonal interaction. The first is known as *Hyperpersonal Communication Theory* (Walther, 1996), which states that, in certain circumstances, CMC is a more socially desirable form of communication than FtF. Walther's reasoning for this is that as nonverbal cues are reduced, individuals feel less self-conscious, and thus feel more comfortable in self-disclosing personal information earlier on in the relationship. As a result, the participants involved experience an enhanced and expedited sense of intimacy (Antheunis et al., 2007). The other explanation used to support the study's findings is known as the *Uncertainty Reduction Theory* (Berger & Calabrese, 1975), which states that when strangers meet, their main concern is getting to know the other individual in order to better predict his/her behavior. This process of gaining personal information about one's partner can be done through three different strategies:

1. *Passive* – learning through slow accumulation of perceived individual's behaviors, or through social comparison
2. *Active* – asking other people about the individual in question
3. *Interactive* – through direct questioning and self-disclosure

Due to the fact that CMC is such a limited source of communication,

the most straightforward form of uncertainty reducing strategies, "interactive," is best suited for gaining personal information. The result is increased amounts of self-disclosure and a heightened feeling of intimate attraction (Altheunis et al., 2007).

This CMC factor of visual anonymity has been particularly helpful for individuals suffering from Social Anxiety Disorder, which is characterized by "a marked and persistent fear of social or performance situations in which embarrassment may occur" (APA, 1994, p. 450). Individuals suffering from the disorder are often hypersensitive to criticism, fear negative evaluation or rejection, have low self esteem, and often have difficulty being assertive—essentially, they lack social skills (APA, 1994). A study performed by McKenna KY (1999) produced results indicating that socially anxious people are more likely to use the Internet to form relationships than FtF communication because it reduces the possibility of immediate and direct rejection, which is one of the biggest fears of an individual with Social Anxiety Disorder (Morris & Stevens, 2007).

Negative Aspects of the Internet as a Dating Medium

While CMC may seem like a healthy and harmless alternative for individuals who for one reason or another have difficulty initiating or maintaining romantic relationships in FtF situations, there is an alternative view. While visual anonymity and reduced nonverbal cues may increase self-disclosure and hence increase intimacy development, one could question the accuracy of the information being disclosed. Biases and misinterpretations can easily occur on both the part of the sender *and* receiver in the Internet conversation due to the multiple limitations of the medium. On the part of the sender, there is drastically increased opportunity to self-censor and carefully construct messages sent to the intended receiver, which is a side effect of CMC's asynchronous method of communication. As a result, the sending individual is able to present him/herself in an idealized manner; this is known as *selective self-presentation* (Walther & Burgoon, 1992 as cited in Walther, 1996). Bias also occurs on the part of the receiver as well. As best explained in the *Social Identity*

Deindividuation Theory (Spears & Lea, 1992 as cited in Walther, 1996), in the absence of FtF cues and a limited prior knowledge of the individual being corresponded with, we tend to overemphasize the meaning of relatively unimportant information because we have nothing else off of which to base our opinions (Walther, 1996). Both of these medium-induced biases have the potential to cause a drastic contrast between the self of the individual portrayed on the CMC and that same individual as he or she would act in FtF circumstances.

These addressed limitations and biases presented through CMC may seem minor when discussing solely internet-based relationships, but what happens when a CMC relationship is combined with FtF communication as well? Does the "idealized self" conveyed through the Internet match up with the "actual self" once the two correspondents meet in person? This issue has been neglectfully ignored in most research and as new technologies arise in our culture, it is a question that must be addressed.

Text Messaging as a New CMC Medium

According to a speech given by Lee Rainie, the director of the Pew Internet & American Life Project, the current population of individuals born between the years of 1982-2000 are known as the "Millennials"; this demographic includes the current college population, which shall be the focus of this study. Millennials represent 36% of the population, and are characterized as being heavily reliant upon the use of communicative technologies in their day-to-day lives. While the baby boomer generation's CMC options were limited mainly to stationary devices, the Millennials are a specifically mobile-based CMC group (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2006). Based on this emphasis on mobile CMC mediums, it is not surprising that text messaging has become a major source of communication in modern society.

The text message application on mobile phones, formerly known as a *Short Message Service* (SMS), is currently one of the world's most popular mobile applications, with at least 243 million U.S. subscribers as of June 2007 (Mahatanankoon & O'Sullivan,

2008). The application is especially attractive to teenagers and young adults because they are described as "multi-taskers" by nature (Pew Internet & American Life Project, 2006), with SMS allowing for quick, convenient communication and the ability to divide one's attention in day-to-day situations. Text messaging is also a useful method of exchanging information when no other means of communication is readily available (Reid & Reid, 2007).

The adoption of SMS as a useful means of achieving task-oriented information exchange makes sense due to the fact that it is best categorized within media richness theory as a *lean media* CMC. It has a low capacity for nonverbal cues, it has a slower rate of message exchange than FtF communication, and it is not conducive to the use of "natural language." However, teenagers more than any other age demographic have been found to incorporate SMS into their social lives in order to maintain contact with friends and romantic partners, thus utilizing SMS as a *rich media* CMC (Brant, Sanders-Jackson, & Smallwood, 2006). This seemingly unnatural use of SMS as a method of intimate interpersonal communication is surprising considering the difficulty found in typing out detailed messages. Unlike the Internet, which has a full-sized keyboard over which to spread one's hand, a mobile phone has an extremely cramped keypad, which requires some degree of effort and practice to type a message without error. So, an individual is making an active choice to expend more time and energy into a lengthy text-based message, which could have been expressed with less effort and more expedience through a telephone call (Reid & Reid, 2007). Because individuals tend to choose the quickest and most direct methods of exchanging information, this contradiction serves as a primary indicator of motives *other than* efficiency for choosing SMS as a first-choice method of communication.

Another factor that distinguishes SMS from other methods of CMC is that, in most circumstances, SMS interaction is not anonymous. While individuals have the ability of meeting others through the Internet, SMS communication requires an initial acquiring of the respective individual's phone number, so at one point or another, the two have most likely met face-to-face (Bryant

et al., 2006). Based on this assumption, a reasonable consequential assumption would be that the partners involved would choose the medium of communication most appropriate depending on the subject matter. Essentially, one would think that if the subject matter is objective and goal-oriented, SMS would be used based on its lean media potential, but if the subject matter were emotionally sensitive, a phone call or FtF communication would be used. However, this is not always the case. It has been revealed that women are far more likely to initiate the first move in a romantic relationship with a man through SMS than through a telephone (Byrne & Findlay, 2004). There is very little research concerning this modern day romantic communication contradiction, and exploration should be done to gain further insight on the matter. Based upon the information discussed above, research could be done to study the correlation between text message use and various aspects of personality including: levels of self-esteem, presence of Social Anxiety Disorder and Avoidant Personality Disorder, levels of ego identity or self-concept, levels of intimacy in relationships, levels of egocentricity, etc.

As society continually advances its abilities in the realm of communicative technologies, we must not only praise those technologies for their advantages, but also question the harmful impact they may have on both *intra*personal and *inter*personal relationships.

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Peasant Imagery in the Northern Renaissance: Complex Interpretations

Grace Harter

Peasant imagery went through many changes from the feudal period through the Reformation. Contemporary philosophy, literature, and artwork on the peasants were likely to be conflicting depending on the station of the creator as well as the station of the interpreter. The most important change in peasant imagery was the moving of the peasant to the forefront of the image. In earlier times, peasants were relegated to margins or were not represented at all. The increasing number and eventual popularity of peasant images represented a growing social consciousness about the lower class. While there are plenty of pieces depicting the peasants as crude, there are others that humanize and sympathize with their lives. Peasant imagery during the Northern Renaissance is too complex to be labeled as overtly negative or positive.

Drastic economic changes in European society, beginning around 1300, were the catalyst for social upheaval. Europe faced economic depression because of constant plagues, famines, and wars.[1] Feudal lords began to lose their power after the 1300s, though they still relied heavily on their peasant workers.[2] The result of the lords' disdain for peasants and the need for validating their commanding role can be seen in the illuminated manuscript *Très Riches*

Heures de Duc de Berry (fig. 1) from early fifteenth century France. The Duke of Berry was not known as a kind man; the writer Jean Froissart once described him as the "most avaricious man in the world."[3] The depictions of the calendar year made for the Duke of Berry show peasants working in the fields set against the backdrop of his grand castles. The importance of the peasants is evident, as their production inevitably feeds the Duke and his courtiers, but there is also an underlying disdain and mockery of their lifestyle. Their clothes are ill-fitting and falling down clownishly, and they frequently bend over in their labors, showing their backsides to the viewer, a slight against their refinement that would not be missed by a contemporary audience.

Figure 1: Limbourg Brothers, *Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, 1412.

In this image, the peasants in the background are compared with the nobles in the foreground. Inevitably, the peasants come across as boorish and crude in comparison to the finely dressed courtiers. The nobles have attenuated figures while the peasants appear stout. Their nudity, which is more ignorant than classically beautiful, contrasts sharply with the rich dress of the nobles.[4] Other paintings in the manuscript emphasize the animalistic nudity of the peasants. Only one painting of a man plowing a field can be described as neutral or even noble. This is because the man is performing his duty with precision and diligence as opposed to the resting peasants of other paintings.

Until the 1400s, feudal lords were fairly secure in their positions. Society was governed by a system of "reciprocity" that was governed by the three orders of society: the clergy, the nobles, and the peasants.[5] The justification for keeping the peasants as society's workers was grounded in this ideal. For their work, they received

spiritual protection from the clergy and bodily protection from the nobles. Societal balance was not the only argument for the peasants' labors; the clergy and nobles also found evidence in the Bible that man was born to work.[6] This work was not a curse to the peasants but a divine command.

In the Old Testament, references to work are literal; a man must plant in order to eat. In the New Testament, references to work are metaphorical in nature; Jesus talks about the planting of seeds of faith. The dual nature of "work" caused conflicting views of agriculture. Hard labor was dignified, but it was also low-class. Peasants formed the base of society but they were also stupid and animalistic. These inconsistent interpretations of peasants continued past the demise of feudalism and into the mercantile state. The complexity of the relationship between the peasants and the upper classes can be viewed in the art of the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries.

The feudal system, which had upheld the need for strict class assignations, was replaced by a growing mercantilist society in the 1400s and 1500s. Mercantilism created a middle class that upset the medieval worldview that society was created of the clergy, the nobles, and the peasants.[7] For the first time, emphasis was placed on individualism instead of community. This "individual capitalist spirit" led to opportunity for social gain.[8] Because societies during feudalism were mostly self-sustaining, prices were often set with the philosophy of fairness and justice for the buyer. Now, with increasingly free markets, the focus of sellers was profits.[9] As they made more money, merchants were able to join the societal ranks previously occupied only by the nobles and the clergy.

The nobles were desperate to prove their relevance in a changing world. Many erected enormous fortresses around themselves for protection, since they were no longer surrounded by serfs. The world was changing in a way that favored the new merchant class. Monopolies gouged prices, and nobles found that their luxurious lifestyles were harder to sustain.[10] The clergy, also facing hard times, lessened their charity outreach and increased their tithes.[11]

Agriculture was still the foundation for European society in the 1500s; nearly 80% of all Europeans worked the land.[12] However, the

economic burden fell hardest on the peasants. While they were no longer serfs, they faced high taxes, strict laws, and increasing tithes from their churches. Peasants were required to give the church 10% of their yearly grain, fruits, and livestock.[13] They also had to pay the landowner whose farm they tilled and were required to do work for him for a fixed amount of time. They were not allowed to shoot the game on a lord's land, even if it was hurting their crops.[14] To keep production cheap, landowners controlled wages and imposed Roman civil law by the sixteenth century. Under this, all land was made private and owned by a series of princes or lords.[15] Peasants were arguably in a worse situation than serfdom, for there was no mutual contract between peasants and their lords under the newly enforced Roman civil law. Peasants often turned to moneylenders in desperation.[16] However, in the new capitalist spirit, money lending was no longer a practice of charity—it was a way to make money. Peasants were impoverished by both high taxes and the high interest rates of the moneylenders.

The peasants' desperation became organized protest in the 1300s. One of the first organized revolts was held in England. The English Peasant Revolt of 1381 began as protests against the king and lords when they refused to raise wages for the diminished class of peasants. The Black Death had greatly affected European populations, and peasants found they were doing more work for less pay. While the revolt was ultimately a failure, ideas that fomented during the uprisings were carried over into later revolts. John Ball, a popular preacher and champion of the peasants, was one of the first public leaders to enforce the idea of equality. The system of clergy, nobles, and peasants was publicly disputed, and peasants began to develop ideas about human rights. The phrase, "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" gained popularity during this time and was seen in revolts almost 200 years later.

The new, organized power of the peasants was an unwelcome change for all of the other social classes. The image of the noble peasant became very rare and instead there was a focus on the crudeness and stupidity of the peasants. Images like Dürer's *Peasants Dancing* (fig. 2) were not uncommon. Peasants were

usually depicted as stout and ugly with exaggerated movements. In literature, they were described as deformed and prone to criminality and excess.[17]

In continental Europe, at the end of the fifteenth century, peasants began organizing. In 1493, peasants began demonstrating in southwestern Germany.[18] They printed a pamphlet entitled "The Reformation of Emperor Frederick III" in 1523, one of the first pamphlets to be circulated. In the book, they demanded the abolition of tithes and taxes, serious reformations for the clergy, and the banishment of Roman imperial law.[19] When the Emperor did not respond to their demands, a series of uprisings began all over Germany under the banner of the *bundschuh*, or "the peasant's shoe with strings."[20] The official German Peasants War began in 1525 after the printing of the "Twelve Articles of the Peasants," in which the peasants laid out their demands. The Twelve Articles, which are heavily influenced by Martin Luther's 95 Theses, are usually differentiated from other peasant tracts. The Articles are strongly moralistic and rely heavily on religious arguments and the belief that all people are created equal. Unlike other pamphlets, which demanded a lowering of taxes or a reformation of the clergy, the Twelve Articles is intent on emphasizing peasants' equality with the nobles and the clergy. This is an astonishing claim for the time and caused considerable upset. In the Third Article, the peasants claimed that "Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly, it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and wish to be so."[21]

Figure 2: Albrecht Dürer, *Peasants Dancing*, 1514.

The Peasants' War had evolved from economic grievances to spiritual ones. Thomas Muntzer, a leader in the cause, proclaimed

the creation of God's Law. He supported the dissolution of all civil law and the purging of all the earth's sinners.[22] He, along with other revolutionaries, fueled a less moderate and more violent turn to the revolt. Luther, shocked by the new ferocity and claims of the peasants, immediately turned against them. He had previously written "Admonition to Peace in Response to the Twelve Articles," in which he sympathized with the peasants but urged them to mediate with the princes.[23] He was also wary of the peasants' spiritual claims and wrote that rights to the interpretation of the gospel were not universal rights. Human rights should be taken up with the nobles, he believed, and the peasants should not take justice into their own hands. As the Peasants' War continued, Luther was moved to write "Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants." He denounced the revolt and told the princes to punish the peasants as "God's sword on earth."[24] He was angry the peasants had misinterpreted his ideas about equality and freedom and wanted the revolts to be put down immediately. Later on, he published "Circular Letter Concerning the Severe Booklet Against the Peasants," in which he qualified his severity but still maintained that the peasants had misrepresented him.[25]

By the end of 1525, all of the revolts had been put down by the princes. Nearly forty monasteries and castles were destroyed and almost 100,000 peasants were killed.[26] The peasants had their weapons taken away by soldiers but the princes refrained from punishing them further. The main result of the German Peasants' War was its impact on the views of peasants, both from outsiders and how they viewed themselves. While the Twelve Articles became an important human rights document, the majority of the other social classes were inclined to think of peasants as bloodthirsty, ruthless, and terrifying. Luther had gone from being sympathetic to their troubles to being exasperated with the effects of social upheaval. "[You are] making Christian freedom a completely physical matter," he said in one of his treatises. "Did not Abraham and the other patriarchs and prophets have slaves?"[27] Some artists may have been sympathetic as well, but many began making crude paintings of peasant life, especially post-war. These paintings served to distance the artists, who may have come from peasant

backgrounds, from the lower classes.[28] Similarly, patrons may have requested images of stupid peasants in order to disprove the theory that all men were equal.

The equality of the peasants was a source of contention. Early pamphlets merely demanded that the clergy also work for food.[29] Later ones demanded that all Europeans recognize their humanity. The peasants wanted social-religious justice, not just traditional rights.[30] The popular phrase "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman?" was then morphed into a cry for equality. If peasants came from the same two people as the clergy and the nobles, they reasoned, then they should have the same rights.[31] However, the nobles were quick to point out that human equality was never guaranteed by the Bible—especially after events like the Fall of Man and Noah's curse.

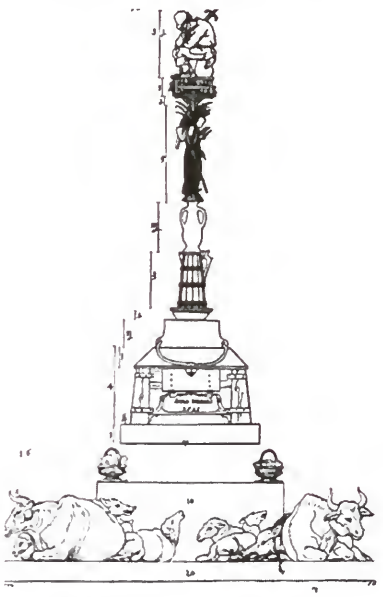

Figure 3: Albrecht Dürer, *Memorial to Commemorate a Victory over the Rebellious Peasants*, 1525.

At the cessation of the Peasants' War, Dürer drew sketches of a monument to the victory over the peasants (fig. 3). Dürer had been staunchly on Luther's side during the war and had already displayed his views of the boorish peasants in earlier works. However, the sketch is more complicated image of the peasant than he had previously shown. In the proposed memorial, a worn peasant with a sword in his back sits atop a structure made of food and livestock. The peasant is defeated not nobly but rather by a sword in the back. He is utterly humiliated atop the memorial, but there is no representation of a victor. The memorial seems to suggest that though a statue is appropriate given the quashing of the uprising, there is not any glory in the victory. The German princes have not gained anything

by their win; rather, they have kept the social order as it was (and should be). Though some sympathy can be given to the bent over peasant, he is not deserving of any respect and the victor is not deserving of glory for putting down a weak enemy.

Much of the images of peasants after 1525 showed them engaged in elaborate celebrations and feasts. The focus had turned from how much a peasant did or did not work in the early Middle Ages to the nature of their social customs. A variety of etchings and paintings featured peasant weddings or kermises, celebrations of a town's patron saint.

In Sebald Beham's 1530 woodcut *Large Peasant Holiday* (fig. 4), a work likely to be influenced by the German Peasants' War, there is a frenetic energy in the festival's participants. They are celebrating a church holiday with drinking, dancing, and general carousing. Scholars have been arguing for decades over the correct interpretation of this and other similar works; because of the dearth of information about many Northern Renaissance artists, intent is always subject to the art historian's own opinion. Beham's woodcut is a good representation of other works of the time since peasant carousing seems to be a popular subject beginning in the 1530s.

Figure 4: Sebald Beham, *Large Peasant Holiday*, 1530.

There are a variety of schools of thought on the effect of the Peasants' War on peasant imagery. The first and most optimistic is that the war made the middle class (which was made up of a number of artists) socially conscious of the peasants' lives for the first time. Their uprisings could have made artists interested in peasant life outside of what their patrons wanted.[32] As some scholars suggest in the interpretation of Beham's *Large Peasant Holiday,* the

woodcut may be a very naturalistic, cheerful look at a peasant festival. Beham may have been recording what happened in those church gatherings, which could have feasibly included all sorts of fun and debauchery. In a contrasting opinion, Beham may have been going along with trends at the time. It is known that this image is not an original but actually a copy of a work of Beham's brother.[33] It became popular to depict the festivals of peasants, and the images of peasants drinking heavily and dancing may suggest inferiority.[34] The suspect morals of the peasants may be the direct result of Luther's denouncement of their actions.

It is impossible to talk about peasants in this era without leaning heavily on Pieter Bruegel the Elder. To differentiate him from his famous descendants, he is sometimes known as the "Peasant Bruegel" because of his focus on peasant life and celebrations. At the risk of making a generalization, Bruegel's work is often more sympathetic and humane to the peasants he depicts than contemporary artwork. The viewer is placed in the scene with the peasants instead of viewing a crowded party from far away. This may be because Bruegel is rumored to have dressed in disguise and attended many peasant festivals.[35] If this is true, Bruegel would have taken his images from life and not based them exclusively on stereotypes or the wishes of his patrons. Bruegel was also careful not to lump peasants in with beggars and tavern drunks, as many other artists did. Peasants were given a separate, rural identity.

Figure 5: Pieter Bruegel, *Peasant Wedding Dance*, 1566.

Bruegel's *Peasant Wedding Dance* (fig. 5) and Pieter van der Borcht's work of the same title (fig. 6) are good contrasts on the

conflicting views of the artists. Both focus on the frivolity behind peasant weddings of the time but Borcht's takes a more satirical turn on the event. While Bruegel's peasants are dancing happily (and arguably ignoring the solemnity of the event), Borcht's peasants are vomiting from drink, defecating in fields, and copulating in the background. The happy event has been turned into an out of control bacchanalia in Borcht's painting, while Bruegel's peasants show more restraint. Because Bruegel's peasants are also larger and less populous, there is more of a feeling of humanity than in Borcht's crowded faraway shot. That these two works were created around the same time shows the complex nature of peasant imagery in the years directly after the Peasants' War.

Figure 6: Pieter van der Borcht, *Peasant Wedding Dance*, 1560.

Bruegel's famous *Bridal Supper* (fig. 7) is another instance of Bruegel inviting the viewer into the scene. It is a snapshot of the event instead of a panoramic view of the entire scene. The crowd is more dignified than in *Peasant Wedding Dance* but it is still a joyous occasion, judging by the people playing instruments and the party guests.

Bruegel's series of paintings called *The Months* provides a good comparison to manuscripts like *Très Riches Heures*. Painted for the home of patron Nicholas Jongelinck, *The Months* depicts various times of the year in the cycle of production.[36] There are not any aristocrats in the work, unlike with *Très Riches Heures*.

Bruegel's painting depicts the work of peasants on a gloomy day. In the distance, their huts can be seen. In the very background is the castle of their lord. This landscape is interesting when contrasted with the images from *Très Riches Heures*. In those paintings,

the castles of the Duke of Berry were imposing and dwarfed the peasants. In Bruegel's *Dark Day* (fig. 8), the castle is small and insignificant in the background. The foreground is dominated by the work of the peasants and their living habitats. The work of the peasants is most important, and their lord is less so. The implications of this are unsettling, especially because the image was created for a wealthy patron. However, it must be taken into account that peasant imagery was popular at the time and that Bruegel was more apt to show peasants at play than at work. The theme of the months may have been chosen by the patron because of the popularity of peasant imagery and the importance of showing working (not carousing or worse, rebelling) peasants.

Figure 7: Pieter Bruegel, *Bridal Supper*, 1568.

Some of the peasants in *Corn Harvest* (fig. 9) are diligently working while many are resting in exaggerated, almost comical positions. The resting peasants may be bordering on satire, but the juxtaposition of the resting with the working prevents the work from making sweeping generalizations about peasant laziness. There are a variety of

Figure 8: Pieter Bruegel, *The Months (Dark Day)*, 1560.

interpretations that can be made from the inactive workers, but the general feel of the picture is more lighthearted than accusatory. The theme behind *The Months* is the importance of the peasants in society. The absence of nobles emphasizes the importance and individuality of the peasant class.

One must be cautious in calling Bruegel the champion of the people. In his famous *Fall of Icarus* (fig. 10), a diligent plowman continues on with his work, not noticing the drowning of Icarus far below. The painting is strongly moralistic and implies that Icarus is ignored by the world because of his lack of humility. The plowman, a symbolic rather than naturalistic figure, is performing his god-given duty: work. The plowman appears most notably in a scene from *Très Riches Heures*, (fig. 11) one of the only peasants who is not belittled in the work.

Figure 9: Pieter Bruegel, *The Months (Corn Harvest)*, 1560.

While Bruegel tends to present his peasants with more humanity than the Limbourg brothers, his view of peasants may not be as progressive as modern scholars would think. While he may have enjoyed peasant revelry, his paintings still imply that work is the peasant's God-given station, a view that corresponds with the medieval class system. Nevertheless, Bruegel's paintings still display an unusually sympathetic view of the peasants outside of work and were an important factor in making peasants realistic subjects of art, rather than marginal or satirized figures.

The paucity of writings on these works often frustrates attempts to make proper interpretations of the artists' intentions. The changing social structure of Europe often makes meanings unclear. While

peasants were still oppressed economically in the decades up to and following the German Peasants' War, there was a revolution in the imagery of peasants. Works went from universal ignorance or negativity towards peasants to a new interest in their lives. Peasants went from being marginal characters to isolated focuses of art. The peasant uprisings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries forced the upper classes to take notice of the peasants. While there are many works that can be considered negative and few works that can be considered fully positive, there was a new growing sympathy (if a little condescending) for their way of life. The peasant wars forced a new dimension to economic problems and were important starters for discussion on human rights. Artwork of the time shows the quickly changing socio-economics of the time and accurately reflects the complex relationships between the peasants and their masters. ❦

Figure 10: Pieter Bruegel, *The Fall of Icarus*, 1558.

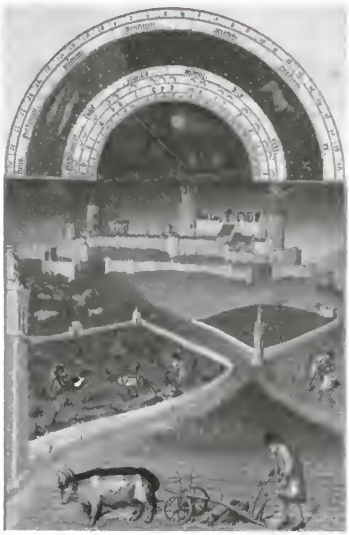

Figure 11: Limbourg Brothers, *Très Riches Heures de Duc de Berry*, 1412.

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32. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives*, 41.
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TECHNICOLOR:
Eight and a half years in the Valley

Aileen Brenner

The Child

My childhood was seventy degrees. My childhood was sunny and smoggy, eight miles northwest of Hollywood on the 101. My childhood was eight and a half years of stolen hubcaps and snowless skies stretching above dirty blond ringlets and blue-grey irises.

The Extraterrestrial

Frieda hated loud noises, but she loved her condominium on Bloomfield Street. When my parents were married, they moved in above her with two cats—O'Neill and Simba—and uncomfortable wicker kitchen table chairs. The cats and the chairs were joined by infertility treatments, and then two small children, who were reminded often not to stomp.

When I was three years old living in the Bloomfield Street condo, I used to have dreams about the Strawberry Shortcake cartoon. Sugary frosted meadows. Green grass. Pink horses. Big floppy hats that smelled sickly sweet and fell over my face in folds of puffy pink cotton.

And then the movie *E.T.* came out.

My sister slept by the window, and E.T. came one night to

phone home from our bedroom. He sat on the windowsill as my sister slept (peaceful, naïve), and E.T. dripped sticky brown molasses from his fingers, stretching and glimmering in traces of moonlight onto her clean purple/pink sheets. His eyes were wide and crazed, dangerous. His face was goopy, unhuman, and unfit for my room—unfit to be sitting so ugly and innocent above my sister, pointing out toward the parking garage. *Phone…home,* E.T suggested. *E.T.… phone home? Phone home! E.T. phone home!*

The Twin

E.T. is at the top of my twin sister Joanna's list of favorite movies.

The Slotted Spoon

In old home videos, which my mom has categorized by year and event with sticky labels and an index card filing system in the basement, I pretended I could read. I memorized "Little Bo Peep" and held a colorful book cliché and upside-down as I recited. Lil Bo Peep. Loss sheep. I smile at my dad through the camera, his fitted dark denim jeans caught in a reflection by the closet mirror in his narrow Bloomfield bedroom.

Simba, orange and arrogant, strolls into the room. His tail twitches lazily behind him. Joanna, minus a shirt, has found a plastic slotted spoon. "Ba…ba…blacksheep," she begins, the spoon held high to mask her insecurity. "BA, BA BLACKSHEEP!" I chime in quickly, eyes darting away from my book, smiling big at my dad's jeans, then at his face through the lens.

Simba's tail grazes my sister's bare chest, her spoon still in the air. She looks at the cat. She looks at her slotted spoon. She looks at the cat.

FWACK.

The Ceramic Whippet

Sherman Oaks, California was a short drive through the San Fernando Valley. A short drive to Grandma Esther and Grandpa Hy's house. A short drive to a living room with creamy orange

sherbet carpet and clashing lime green drapes. Nobody actually lived in the living room; nobody except a three-foot high white ceramic whippet that stood guard down the step from the foyer.

On one side of the whippet was an ornate, dark wooden chair with burnt orange cushions where I would sit and pretend I was king. Not queen, not princess; this chair was for the king. I watched myself sitting high and stately in the opposite wall, which was covered by a patterned mirror that made my reflection distant and unearthly. On days when I was well-behaved, I sat in that chair for minutes, staring through the opposite wall into a different world, where I only semi-existed. The whippet sat beside me, stoic and unmoving. Its left black eye kept a glassy, cool gaze. Grandma's garlic pasta wafted in from the kitchen.

Lipstick

Grandma told us never to wear lipstick. Our lips were beautiful, pink, she said, and lipstick would stain and taint and fade them. She kissed us on our cheeks and we could smell perfume and powder make-up as it swam sharp and sweet across our faces. In later years she would call us on the phone, and I could sense her permeating through the holes on the receiver, sending her love and her scent across waves and lines and the country.

A few years ago I bought a ChapStick made of beeswax, tinted red. I've used it once.

The Rocket Ship Boxes

Grandma and Grandpa's house was my Narnia. It was my secret garden. It didn't belong to me, but I knew it well and shared it with few, and I felt that, in it, I could escape. I spent Friday nights and weekends there, among fragile and stately guard dogs, earth-colored and bottom-of-shoe trodden shag carpets, and 1970s-style wallpaper that left your eyes and head dizzy and transfixed. In the backyard, Grandpa stored empty cardboard boxes in an unused one-car garage. After Joanna and I had incorporated all the kitchen spices, a grated hunk of Parmesan cheese, and half a box of raw spaghetti into a pot to make a foul straight-to-the-garbage-disposal

concoction, we would venture out back to the garage/shed, and to the boxes.

With boxes, jars, shovels, and sometimes a dirt-stained pair of rubber-grip gardening gloves, my sister and I flew to the moon. The boxes were our rocket, flattened and stacked, formed into a shallow cave that was dark and mysterious in the center—our cockpit. Rubber-gripped protection from thorns became moon gloves, a shovel the uproarious clang of blast-off, jam jars the buttons for anti-gravity, or compartments for powdered dinner and Tang. After each mission we reconfigured our ship—more ornate, more intense. This time, to Mars! To Jupiter! We need more boxes—we can't get to Pluto with one lousy engine. Build up the back. Elongate the wings (it's a harder flight). We need bigger jars to form little circular windows on either side, to watch the rings of Saturn as we speed by, burning our rocket fuels into the universe.

I wrote about the rocket ship boxes in my personal essay pleading for admittance to NYU, pleading for admittance into something wonderful and brilliant and new.

The boxes.

Were wait-listed.

The Automatic Card Shuffler

A right of passage into my family was learning how to shuffle a deck of cards. When my Grandpa Hy was old and numb, we shuffled for him in the nursing home, dealing out hand after hand of gin rummy as IV bags dripped dry.

I spent hours at my grandma's table, or beside it on the floor in my Fisher Price playhouse tent, practicing with navy blue and royal red decks. My sister perfected the technique before I did, and I would watch her and my dad spit their own deck back and forth, the *fwip fwip* of card-on-card creating a breeze by my face. "Try your best," Dad said with a smile. "It'll come to you."

One day, from a cabinet full of poker chips, Grandma Esther pulled out an automatic card shuffler. To work the machine, you split the deck (for good measure) and place it in a plastic compartment. Hit the on switch. In five seconds, the automatic card shuffler

has completed a task my dad could have finished, pre-rheumatoid arthritis, in one.

The Mother

My mom used to be obsessed with fingerprints.

The Glass Wall

We lived in a house on Rye Street. It didn't have a pool. But it did have a wall covered completely with a large pane of mirror. Sometimes, Joanna and I would put our whole hands up against the reflective glass and trail smudges down the length of the wall.

I spent much of my time on Rye Street confined, with my sister, to our bedroom.

The Father

My dad is 5'6". He blew out his knees playing sports in high school. When he was a teenager, he tells me, doctors pumped him full of growth hormones.

The Glass Lamp

When I was six years old, I collapsed in an unconscious wave from a tall ear-piercing chair at an Afterthoughts store in the mall. The next day, the San Andreas Fault sent waves through Northridge and across the Richter scale that resonated in our little Valley home. My parents rustled through the 4:30AM dark and shook us from our beds, gentle and urgent. As we rushed toward the dining room to take refuge under our wooden table's strength, my dad pushed his body to a halt, against mine, shielding me from moving forward. A moment later, a heavy circle of glass attached to a golden metal floor lamp came crashing to the hardwood, inches from my dad's foot, inches from my still-dreaming face.

Everything we owned was shaking. We were shaking. Dressers and chimneys were crashing into hardwood and carpet, grass and asphalt. We huddled under the table, the brown curvature of its legs reflected every so often in falling shards of glass. I turned to my dad.

"Are my earrings still in?"

The Aluminum Carnival

In my Aunt Judy and Uncle Dave's home, there is a room we call the toy room. My uncle, a successful business-owner and a connoisseur of the California wine world, collects toys. Wind-up toys, for the most part. And he stores them in the toy room, three sides plastered wall-to-wall with towering black four-tier shelves, each covered with wind-up toys. Some of them emit noises or music; some of them light up; some of them double as telephones or calculators.

The biggest toy is a town carnival, and it is not for kids. Roughly the size of a large café table, the rectangular bed of aluminum rests on the lowest shelf, on the back wall, near the window. When laid on the floor, its colors are vivid. They burst in carnival blues, reds, and yellows into the otherwise somber, mauve and black room. The toy, which includes a miniature rollercoaster complete with cars and tiny painted people-faces, is operated by a hollow golden key. When I was old enough, I was led to the toy room while grown-ups talked and sipped merlots after Thanksgiving dinner. I was given the gold key. It fit loosely, and I turned it once, watching the cars zoom with gravity down a track, the aluminum parts whizzing sharply, clanking and churning.

Kitty

My stuffed orange cat. I tried several times to change her name to Rachel, but it never took.

The Bamboo Garden

I was raised by my mom, my dad, and Andrew Lloyd Webber. On long car rides we listened to *The Phantom of the Opera* and *Cats*. When a "gumbie" cat started showing up to eat the outdoor cat food on our back porch, my mom adopted her, and named her Jennyanydots. When we took her to the vet, I spelled out "Jenny Enny Dots Brenner" for the nametag on her carrier. Jenny was scared of everything. Cars, people, noises, a cough, a reflection of her white paw or long, gray and spotted hair as she ran past a mirror. She spent most of her time under my bed.

When I was nearly eight and a half years old, my dad took a new job in Frederick, Maryland—a place that, according to my elementary school maps, should not actually exist.

On the day of our plane ride across the country, I let Jenny out of her cat carrier. And she ran. Past the rose bushes, past the plumb and apricot and nectarine trees, past our old hobby shed, and into the bamboo garden. Joanna and I had etched fingernail prints into the stalks; memories of playing in a world twenty-five feet from the house, where everything was different.

We found Jenny teetering terrified on the wall at the edge of our backyard, and a neighbor lulled her back to us with a can of tuna. We made it to the airport with just enough time to board a big gray airplane and feed Simba and Jenny airline chicken and tablets of Valium.

The Snow

Falling. For the first time. Outside our apartment complex in Frederick, Maryland. And for the first time since the move, Joanna and I are quiet.

My childhood was dirty blond and blue-grey. It was pink floppy hats, orange sherbert cats, and fitted blue denim. I read Technicolor hardcover nursery rhymes as unhuman brown molasses dripped slowly from bumpy fingers. I played on creamsicle and lime shag carpets and in the dark, on the moon. I was a king, surrounded by gold.

My childhood is played back for me in mirror-wall home videos, reflecting every color in every light, in every thickness of chokingly beautiful smog.

When I grew up, the air was clear. It snowed. And everything turned white. ❦

Fragments
Charcoal and pencil on
thirty-six 10" x 8" cold pressed
sheets of paper; Booklet with
newspaper clippings

Maria Taylor

Fragments

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Fragments is an installation composed of thirty-six drawn images, as well a booklet with selected articles from currently published American newspapers. The featured stories in the articles represent important global events concerning Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and South Korea. The drawings represent extreme close-ups of selected fragments of the images from the articles. Drawings were made with charcoal, which is a medium hard to erase, just like images in our memory.

Fragments explores the depiction of suffering. Specifically, the project works with the feeling of empathy as it relates to the human condition. Newspapers and articles are necessary to see how the world—globally and locally—responds to tragedy. By replicating images of trauma and suffering in the press, the project focuses on the act of exploiting the victims of tragic events as figures in elegant photographs, paintings or other visual media. Thus, the suffering of the people within the images is aesthetic instead of appalling. Each image represents a small selected fragment of a press photograph. There are six photographs from a variety of current newspapers and magazines, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Daily Times*, and *Newsweek*. Within each printed photograph, six fragments are selected and magnified until the ink from the printer is separated into tiny ink dots. Thus, the magnification of the fragments achieves the goal of abstraction.

Fragments is a conceptual project that implores the observer to take the time to ponder through human suffering while raising questions about the subject and how it is implicated in issues ranging from racism to apathy and to violence. Perhaps empathy can begin with taking a closer look.

Context Clues: Understanding Child Neglect from the Aboriginal Standpoint

Capella Meurer

"It's a situation that has not occurred because we have invited it, nor because we have sat on our hands and done nothing."
-Paul Briggs[1]

As with most definitions used by Australian child welfare, *neglect* has its roots in Western conceptions of parenting and children's needs, and has only recently incorporated a cultural aspect that allows for the variety of cultures in Australia. Given that Aboriginal Australia has a long history of being unduly classified as inherently neglectful of its children, it would seem that a more inclusive and culturally competent definition would be in order, especially after the Prime Minister's Apology to Australia's Indigenous Peoples. Yet children are still being removed from families without any understanding of Aboriginal culture and the long history behind it; this does not excuse neglectful conditions but instead explains them and provides a more culturally adaptive way of remedying the situation. Unless cultural relativity is brought to the forefront, Aboriginal children will continue to be taken from their families, as they continue to struggle with the effects of social control-inspired removal policies. This literature review seeks to place the term *neglect*, as it is applied to parenting and child-rearing, firmly in the context of Aboriginal history and

experience, and, in doing so, will provide insight into how neglect should be defined and handled in the Aboriginal community.

The Mutable Definition of Neglect

Neglect has a variety of definitions, ranging from wide scoped intervention definitions to more detail oriented definitions used in the legal context; given this, it is difficult to formulate an operational definition that generalizes across all situations.[2] From the legal perspective, a narrow definition is used "to protect the rights of the family," while broad definitions are used by service providers to ensure that appropriate services are made available to families in need.[3] The definition of neglect also varies from culture to culture, so that multiple definitions can exist in one country, the dominant culture often imposing its ideas without regard to the nuances of cultural child-rearing practices.[4]

Another confounding factor is the tendency for neglectful conditions to be confused with poverty conditions, which are often interconnected, but are not interchangeable.[5] While there is an association between neglect and poverty, one does not preclude the other in any verifiable relationship.[6] Neglect may be best examined and understood if childhood development is brought into the picture, so that it is partially determined by the action or inaction by parents that result in the failure of their child to reach developmental goals.[7] Poverty conditions, however, come about as a result of having inadequate resources and do not necessarily include the failure to meet developmental goals; quite the contrary, actually, as parents may be fulfilling developmental goals using their limited resources. Even with this broad understanding, it is still necessary to accord cultural developmental goals the same importance as general biological goals, as these goals can often be undone or undermined by failure to meet cultural developmental goals.

In regards to Australian history, neglect has, up until recently, been defined from the white Australian perspective, which took the paternalistic stance that Aboriginal Australians were inferior to the white settlers and had to be civilized.[8] In this sense, neglect was seen as the failure to provide appropriate food, shelter, supervision, and

clothing, as defined by Western standards. White society is used as a predetermined norm against which all other societies are measured[9] and pays no heed to any cultural differences in parenting and developmental goals. Not only does this operate under the assumption that there is only one proper way to raise children, it also opens the diagnostic process up to stereotyping at the expense of Aboriginal definitions of child-rearing.[10] In keeping with the adoption of more culturally competent service provision, there has been a movement to develop a more appropriate definition of neglect. In literature on the subject, the definition has been accepted as being akin to "any serious omissions or commissions by a person having the care of a child which, within the bounds of cultural tradition, constitute a failure to provide conditions that are essential for the healthy physical and emotional development of a child."[11] Specifically related to Australia, these are "practices leading to the denial of Aboriginality of children."[12] This definition is far from being widely accepted and utilized in the welfare arena because the definitions used by any one sector "tend to be open-ended and reliant on the discretion of the responsible departmental officer."[13]

Even with the use of a more culturally inclusive definition, Aboriginal children are still grossly over-represented in the child welfare arena. According to the Australian Institute of Health and Wellness (AIHW) from 2006 to 2007, nationwide, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were 5.4 times more likely to be the subject of substantiated welfare notifications; in Victoria, Koori children were 10.4 times more likely to be the subjects of substantiations, the highest rate in all Australia.[14] It must be noted that while the rate of substantiations of notifications has increased from 1998 to the present, this increase has not been steady, instead being a fluctuating increase and decrease across multiple years. Furthermore, this increase may not be due simply to an increase in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the child welfare system—the improvement in data quality on this population also contributes to the number of cases being reported each year.[15] In Victoria, the percentage of cases involving neglect among Indigenous children was higher than the percentage for non-Indigenous children (19.4% and 15.5%,

respectively).[16] Nationwide, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were more likely to be on care and protection orders than non-Indigenous children; in Victoria, Koori children were 10.1 times more likely to be on care and protection orders than non-Koori children. While there were more children being placed in out-of-home care in all states and territories, all areas except for Tasmania followed the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle and placed the majority of the out-of-home care children in culturally appropriate care. In Victoria, 61.2 % of Aboriginal children in out-of-home care were placed in culturally appropriate care.[17]

Despite the increase in removed children being put into culturally appropriate care, the fact remains that Indigenous children are still over-represented in the child welfare system and that they are more likely to be removed on the basis of child neglect than are non-Indigenous children. As explained above, neglect does have a historical side to it that is often not considered. Perhaps the neglect seen in the Aboriginal community can better be explained as a case of a poorly fitted definition being unfairly applied to a group of people who, owing to their history of being neglected by the majority government, have few alternatives to their current living conditions.

The History of Neglect in the Aboriginal Experience

As colonization began, white settlers approached Aboriginals with a paternalistic and missionary mindset. In this view, the Indigenous population were socially inferior people who needed to be converted to the Western way of life. This attitude was the thin veneer of justification used by the colonists to justify seizure of Aboriginal land and the removal of the Indigenous people to missionary camps, which not only allowed for the easy dispersion of Western culture but it also allowed the colonists to exert control over the Aboriginal population.[18] When this experiment in conversion failed, Aboriginals were left at the edge of white society, confined to poorly maintained camps and missions, where the conditions were barely livable for adults, and unmistakably dangerous for children. Not only were the camps dangerous in the physical sense but also in the spiritual sense, because the camp environment actively denied the

honor of Aboriginality.[19] At the time—and arguably now as well—poverty was seen as a sign of moral failing, which only provided more justification for pushing the camps further from the newly developed towns and into more inhospitable land that was indicative of the "separate inferior" services given to Aboriginals by the government.[20]

Anne Haebich has described the mindset at the turn of the twentieth century as being a "contradictory but intersecting set of philanthropic, ameliorative, punitive, and even genocidal rationales."[21] Aboriginal society was seen as falling away in the wake of the more dominant white society, whose putatively advanced technology and social mores set them above the Aboriginals; this gave the white population the ability to judge Aboriginal society from their vantage point high on the social Darwinism ladder. Cultural relativism was not included in the vocabulary of the time, so Aboriginals were compared against the white population without any thought to the reason for differences nor the importance of uniqueness. Aboriginal parents were defined as dangerous to their children's health and well-being,[22] and were thus deemed unsuitable for raising children as moral adults. Instead of addressing the problems at their source, in the camps and missions, the governing population took a stance of removal as the only way to save Aboriginal children from their allegedly morally deficient parents.[23]

Removal policy has deep roots in British white supremacy, which sought to bring all inferior people up to white middle class norms in order to provide a more organized and functional society.[24] Removal of children from their parents, Aboriginal or not, was already a common practice in the late 1800s, having been used from the early days of colonization onwards as a way to protect children from "socially inadequate" parents.[25] Aboriginals, whether they lived in the destitution of missions and camps or in the traditionally mobile lifestyle outside the camps, stuck out prominently. Of course there was a genuine humanitarian concern for children, which sprang from the child welfare movement of the nineteenth century,[26] but the humanitarian concern merely masked the regulatory desire that characterized the Australian government's

interaction with Aboriginals at the time.[27] By and large, the removal policies that became the intervention of choice with Aboriginal families were spurred on by desire for social control, whereby the removal of children allowed for the development of "self-supporting, disciplined workers at minimum cost to the community."[28]

A humanitarian mindset may have saturated the rhetoric of nineteenth century child welfare, but underneath were more sinister motivators of social conformity and homogeneity, which were the seeds of the assimilationist policy of the mid 1900s. In the removal policies of the 1800s it is easy to see the seeds of the assimilationist policy of the mid 1900s. This policy was meant, on the surface, as a way to address the obvious socio-economic differences between the Aboriginal population and the white population.[29] Ignoring the fact that the differences arose from meddling by the white population, the government used the appalling conditions in the camps to point out that Aboriginal children could not hope to succeed unless they were removed from their parents' contaminating influence and placed in government facilities, which would provide the guidance and protection reputably not found in Aboriginal families.[30] Strains of social Darwinism shone through as Aboriginal culture was defined as intrinsically neglectful and barbaric while Aboriginal mothers were characterized as the exact opposite of the "chaste and loving white mothers" who represented the nineteenth century ideal.[31] While this policy gave the appearance of raising Aboriginals from destitution, it did so at the cost of Aboriginal family ideals and culture, which were tarred without a glance to "structural circumstances, which are part of a wider historical and social context."[32] Assimilationist policy resulted in the mass removal of Aboriginal and half-caste children from their parents, a movement whose aftershocks are still being felt today in the form of intergenerational trauma experienced by members of the Stolen Generation.

This has set the stage for the current rhetoric behind child removal. Many Aboriginals continue to live in third world conditions that are not conducive to child-rearing. Of course, this does not explain away how Aboriginal children live because it is a very real fact that Aboriginal children often do not live in the

same conditions as their white counterparts. This fact should not be attributed solely to deficits in Aboriginal parenting, as it follows a long history of subjugation at the hands of a culturally biased population. Instead of considering this history, the current mindset often resorts to blaming parents and culture,[33] which is basically a more diluted version of the ethnocentrism that pervaded white consciousness in the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, there are few places where Aboriginals may be free from the views that refuse to acknowledge differences between their culture and the dominant white culture; it is in everything, from the newspapers to governmental legislation to the diagnostics used by welfare services.

The Cultural Aspects of Neglect

Since colonization, neglect has been conceptualized in the context of Western parenting styles, regardless of how Indigenous people care for their children. Though literature is still sparse, it does demonstrate that Aboriginal parenting is just as effective as Western styled parenting and is in fact better suited for Aboriginal children in modern society, who need the protective qualities provided by a cultural connection with their community.[34] Removal policy has, therefore, pushed a large portion of the Aboriginal population into a cycle of child removal[35] because it ensures that Aboriginal children do not have the chance to learn the Aboriginal way of parenting.[36] This inability to learn parenting by rote and to have a spiritual connection with the Aboriginal community has been linked to some of the problems experienced by Aboriginal parents, such as alcoholism, drug use, and violence.[37]

Connection to community is a key aspect of Aboriginal parenting and one that often comes under fire when cases of neglect arise. Aboriginal children are often not raised by the immediate family alone; the extended family network of aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents are integrally involved in the child-rearing process.[38] From a Western stance this dependence on the wider community is abnormal and possibly even grounds for neglect or abandonment in cases where children are temporarily cared for by relatives for periods of time ranging from a couple of days to years.[39] The utilization

of extended family creates attachment patterns that are considered maladaptive according to Mary Ainsworth's dyadic model of attachment, which is favored by child psychologists and practitioners.[40] According to this theory, children develop best when they are raised consistently by one maternal and one paternal figure; when a child is raised in a socially fluid environment, attachment may be interrupted, which is said to interfere with development. The communal raising of children in the Aboriginal community can foster indiscriminate attachment (attachment to more than one maternal figure) as children "seek several other women for nurturance" as opposed to a single maternal figure.[41] Aboriginal parents have also been shown to encourage more independence in their children than their white counterparts,[42] which can be construed as not allowing children to establish a secure base from which they may explore, according to attachment theory.[43] The implication that Aboriginal parenting creates maladaptive attachment patterns means Aboriginal styled parenting is still being classified in the realm of abnormal and dangerous. It is more accurate to say that Aboriginal parenting has benefits that are best understood outside of the current academic theories.

Parental values are another point of contention between Aboriginal and Western parents. While both are of course concerned with the overall well-being and health of the child, Aboriginal parents are very concerned with security and survival and place "much value on the role and responsibility of the sociocultural environment in shaping children's development."[44] The concern with safety and security is more than understandable, given Aboriginal history with child removal; from the Western standpoint, problems arise when Aboriginal parents avoid governmental services due to distrust of the governments and institutions that provide them.[45] It would seem that rather than placing blame on a traumatized culture for not utilizing governmental and institutional provisions, the development of more culturally appropriate service provision is necessary.[46] This pattern of avoidance is seen as a matter of survival for Aboriginals because their past experience has made them wary of government and institutional interference. As explained above, the utilization of extended family as carers is seen as abandonment; similarly, frequent travel by families in an attempt to maintain

themselves is seen as an unstable environment.[47] Removal of children under these circumstances does little to ameliorate the problem, in that the core problems of Aboriginal unemployment and poverty are not addressed, and so the cycle perpetuates itself.

The fact that Aboriginal society places such weight on sociocultural environment as being necessary for child development points to an obvious case of neglect on the part of welfare agencies that utilize complete child removal from Aboriginal society. From the Aboriginal perspective, removal from the community is tantamount to severing the child's spiritual ties;[48] placing children in alternative care within the existing kin structure ensures that Aboriginal children do not lose the integral connection with their sociocultural environment.[49] This institutional neglect of culture has been exacerbated by the general neglect of Aboriginal well-being, which has extended from housing to employment to education to health provision.[50] As Ann Haebich explains, "inequality of outcomes is virtually guaranteed because... policies and legislation cannot recognize either the existing cultural differences or the economic disparity that predispose certain populations to be disproportionately affected by them."[51]

The Appropriateness of Application

Along with being culturally inappropriate in many contemporary settings, the application of child neglect to Aboriginal communities can be considered unfair in that the context of why neglect is over-represented in this population is often ignored. By no stretch of the term does the incorporation of context legitimize child abuse or neglect, rather, it acknowledges that, in some cases, there are very distinct problems in the Aboriginal community, and that these problems cannot be addressed without the inclusion of the broader socio-historical understanding.[52] This context would explain how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people came to live in the conditions they do and how classifications of neglect are rarely straightforward and uncomplicated.

It must first be noted that the conditions in which Aboriginals live today have come from the "contribution of multiple societal, community, family, and individual factors"[53] and that they cannot simply be addressed as a laundry list of problems faced by the

community today.[54] To further complicate the situation is the fact that many of these factors often interact with each other or are the results of multiple interactions themselves. The literature identifies a large range of factors that affect the prevalence of neglect application to Aboriginal families and justify why continued application is oftentimes unfair. Summarizing them is not meant to enumerate exact dysfunctions in Aboriginal society, rather, it is meant to define the context of neglect application to prompt reflection about how terms are applied to groups of people.[55]

One of the most basic effects of the removal of Aboriginal children from their families has been the disturbance of child bonding to parents and family members, leaving many children without Aboriginal maternal, paternal, and familial figures in their lives.[56] The removal from family has also disrupted the traditional family and kinship patterns that not only provide a sense of belonging for children, but also—for Aboriginal families in particular—provide valuable cultural and spiritual teaching.[57] Removal policies combined with the movement of Aboriginal families into camps and missions have resulted in the fragmentation of Aboriginal society, which has struggled to retain some semblance of unity for generations.[58] From a psychological standpoint, removal has traumatized children and resulted in increased vulnerabilities to stress, extensive damage to self-esteem and self-efficacy, and heightened experiences of depression.[59] Parents and family members have also been traumatized by removal policies which labeled the Aboriginal family as contaminating and unsafe; mothers in particular were made to feel like failures.[60]

The feelings of inadequacy experienced by parents and family members have transmitted across generations—along with the trauma experienced by the Stolen Generation—to have profound effects on parenting and ensuing generations. Owing to the separation from their families, many children of the Stolen Generation had little to no access to culturally appropriate and functional parenting role models.[61] Many contemporary parents are scared of losing their children or of exposing their children to the conditions that they themselves grew up in, which has in turn created a distrust and wariness of welfare agencies and similar institutions as well as of the white population in general.[62] This distrust extends to interactions in many

circumstances, from schoolteachers and officials to welfare officers to policemen and healthcare workers;[63] many Aboriginal families forgo assistance from, and interaction with, a wide variety of institutions and professionals. This is only compounded by the fact that many Aboriginals live in poverty, have few economic advantages, and suffer from poor health, all of which can theoretically be mediated by the departments that removed Aboriginal children in the past.[64] Additionally, many Aboriginals suffer from substance abuse,[65] oftentimes as a means of coping with unresolved trauma.

The interplay of these factors has left Aboriginal society in varying stages of destitution with limited means of coping and helping themselves.[66] As it stands, many Aboriginal families demonstrate all the elements that strongly contribute to child neglect, as follows:

- Poverty
- Unemployment
- Family stress, violence, or breakdown
- Homelessness and inadequate housing
- Substance and alcohol abuse
- Poor health
- Low educational attainment
- Sole parent families or families with multiple problems
- Loss of culture, dispossession, and/or child removal
- Differences in child-rearing practices
- Social isolation[67]

Under these conditions it is very easy for child neglect to be diagnosed and for children to be removed, as is happening at a disproportionate rate among Aboriginal communities.[68] Moreover, the unbalanced relationship between Aboriginal and various welfare and governmental agencies ensures that Aboriginals are on the receiving end of aid but are often not in charge of their own aid distribution.[69] Along this vein, Aboriginals are still asserting their right to culturally appropriate diagnostics and service provision, meaning children are often removed without consideration to the context that the dominant society discounts out of habit.[70]

The unbalanced relationship between governments and Aboriginals also has a lasting effect on the lifestyle of Aboriginal families. In some circumstances the government does not provide

adequate service in the forms of housing maintenance, educational accessibility, and trade training,[71] all of which contribute to whether a child is classified as living in neglectful conditions. In the realm of child welfare, agencies still work on a case-by-case basis, which inevitably results in removal instead of addressing the underlying factors outlined above.[72] Only in recent years has there been an increase in the use of the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle, though Aboriginal children are still placed in culturally inappropriate foster homes, which again ignores the underlying factors.[73] On a larger scale there is little focus on preventative measures as a means of decreasing rates of child abuse and neglect, a fact that is exacerbated by the racist and culturally inaccurate opinions that many members of the public still hold against Aboriginal people.[74]

Conclusions

In light of what seems like a plethora of insurmountable obstacles, it is hard to discover a workable solution that addresses every pertinent aspect. Furthermore, cultural context does not provide an excuse for all cases of neglect, as many Aboriginal children do suffer at the hands of parents who are addicted to drugs or alcohol or who have a difficult time parenting. These are very real cases of neglect and ones that should be responded to in a culturally appropriate manner. But what of the cases where the parents do not have the means to provide for their children due to poverty, or who do not have housing that meets the requirements for a safe environment because the governmental housing given to them receives little maintenance? And what of the parents who are still suffering from the intergenerational trauma forced upon them by past removal policies? These are the cases where historical context is eminently necessary because it explains how the circumstances came to pass and how they are best addressed.

Even so, the process can seem rather daunting, especially from the outsider's perspective, where few positive stories from the Aboriginal community are heard. Victoria seems so far removed from the stories of abject impoverishment of some Northern Territory Aboriginal towns that, to many of the general population, it is hard to conceptualize the picture painted by the statistics

or inequality of outcomes. Yet, in Victoria, a solution to at least some of the problems experienced by the Aboriginal community is developing. A recent article from *The Age*[75] describes the development of a town called Shepparton where a home ownership program called the Shared Responsibility Agreement is being piloted as a way to increase Koori independence. The program provides "financial counseling to all tenants and helps those wanting to buy their own homes"[76] and does so in a culturally appropriate manner. It has strengthened the Koori community by giving those involved the security of having a home and the dignity of negotiating for the home on their own terms, both of which have been linked to better health status by a study carried out by the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute.[77] Programs like the Shared Responsibility Agreement that place Aboriginal affairs firmly in the hands of Aboriginals are surely the next step forward in ameliorating the problems many Aboriginals face.

Perhaps the hinge upon which this change will turn is the development of culturally competent child welfare. In the *Age* article, Bob Laing, the Shepparton City chief executive, talks about how the Maoris in New Zealand addressed similar problems in their community and how they have managed to close the gap. According to Laing, a commitment has to first be made to the welfare of children, "to educating [them]; to raising them in safe homes; to nurturing leadership; and to building and broadcasting cultural identity."[78] His sentiment seems to be mirrored by the organizations that have developed in the past four decades to aid Aboriginal children, organizations like SNAICC (Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care) and VACCA (Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency), who work ceaselessly to help Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. Their work is beginning to bring the much-needed context to the attention of the general public while speaking up for and defending Aboriginal rights. The fact that Aboriginal organizations and programs like the Shared Responsibility Agreement are gaining such a strong foothold in Aboriginal life illustrates that change is slowly taking wing and provides a glimpse of how things will be in the not-too-distant future.

NOTES

This article was originally written with Australian spelling. It has been modified with the American variations.

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26. Haebich, Broken Circles, 146.

27. Tominson, "History of Child Protection."

28. Haebich, *Broken Circles*; Pocock, *State of Denial.*

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31. Haebich, *Broken Circles,* 202.

32. HREOC, *Bringing Them Home*, 434.

33. Pocock, *State of Denial*; Pocock, "Child Abuse and Neglect: Background."

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56. HREOC, *Bringing Them Home*.

57. Stanley, Tominson, and Pocock, "Child Abuse and Neglect"; Pocock "Child Abuse and Neglect: Background"; Cuneen and Libesman, "Postcolonial Trauma"; SNAICC, *Proposed Plan of Action*.

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63. HREOC, *Bringing Them Home*, 226.

64. Ibid., 226; Stanley, Tominson, and Pocock, "Child Abuse and Neglect"; Pocock, "Child Abuse and Neglect: Background; Mayer et al, "Characteristics Differentiating Neglected Children"; Pattell, "Aboriginal Families."

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72. Cuneen and Libesman, "Postcolonial Trauma," 105.

73. Freedman and Stark, "White System Doesn't Fit," 32.

74. Litwin, "Child Protection Interventions"; Freedman and Stark, "White System Doesn't Fit"; HREOC, *Bringing Them Home.*

75. Chandler, "A Town Like Shep."

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77. A. Waters, "Do Housing Conditions Make a Difference to our Health?: A Study of Home Ownership and Renting in Australia," *AHURI Research and Policy Bulletin* 42 (Melbourne, Australia: AHURI, 2002).

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Fragile (detail)
Soil, Tree Branches, Twine, String,
Yarn, Plaster, Newspaper

Aliina Lahti

Fragile

Aliina Lahti

Fragile is a three-dimensional installation composed of branches bound together with string and twine to form a tree trunk that, like all trees, supports its canopy, which is an atmosphere of yarn, plaster and string. Inside this delicate atmosphere are the earth's continents, compiled of newspaper clippings discussing environmental issues across the world: sustainable living, the energy crisis, and new renewable energy developments. The space between these suspended landmasses exemplifies water, or the lack thereof. Shining on the tree and the canopy/atmosphere is a disjointed film comprised of images of energy production and consumption. A sense of anxiety or urgency felt within our country and the world today is evident in these photographs: a pressure derived from a careless expenditure of the earth's natural resources.

The struggle between society's elevated rate of consumption and the survival of the earth's organisms in an artificially changing world has sparked an image of what is the source and sink of all life on earth: the tree. The tree creates oxygen in the air we breathe, respires with the carbon dioxide we emit in excess by burning an age-old form of it. A tree's organic decomposition creates nutrients for our soils and food, fuels our cars, cools our earth, and shades our picnic blankets from the sun. Without trees the earth would be devoid of life as we know it.

My hope is to emanate the feeling of subtle urgency to advocate action of a sustainable lifestyle in order to maintain the earth's natural resources and environments. The delicacy of this piece exemplifies the tenuous condition of the earth's fragile environment and the state of human beings within it. Renewable energy and technology for cleaner air, as well as drastic degrees of conservation, are at the fingertips of society. The earth is just waiting for us to take fast action.

Dykes, Camera, Action!
The Lesbian in Classical Hollywood Cinema

Jess Hobbs

Lesbianism was one of the more scandalous of themes forbidden in film during the Classical Hollywood Cinema era. A series of scandals in Hollywood during the 1920s—ranging from drug abuse to rape to murder—led to the creation of the Production Code, an intra-industry set of guidelines dictating what could and could not be shown in motion pictures. The object of these newly defined self-regulation conditions was not only to map for producers exactly what could not make an appearance, but also to project a coherent moral stance onto the greater film industry. Under "Reasons Supporting the General Principles," the Production Code states that "No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it."[1] Lesbians fell under restrictions of "sexual perversion," and thus, were eliminated from the screen—supposedly. In fact, these boundaries only conditioned writers, producers, actresses and actors to pursue more creative ways to circumvent the Production Code; as one director of the time admitted, "the Production Code didn't erase homosexuals from the screen; it just made them harder to find."[2] Lesbianism was very present, only carefully subtextualized.

Cross-dressing has always been regarded as an obvious deviation from prescribed gender-normative behavior. But while a man in women's clothing was a flamboyant expression of the "abnormal," a woman clad in male attire was categorically unusual, but markedly more subtle, as indicated by the appearance of cross-dressing women in motion pictures under the harsh regime of the Production Code. There must have been a perceived distinction, then, between a heterosexual woman in masculine dress and a butch lesbian indulging in personal self-expression. It is this very perception which would allow the portrayal of lesbians in mainstream cinema during the Production Code era.

With the butch/femme roles of the early twentieth century strongly enforced within Sapphic circles,[3] a woman in men's clothing was typically, and accurately, deemed a "bulldyke"[4] and dismissed. Indeed, "crossing gender lines is[, and was, regarded as] such an enormous feat that accomplishing it at all [was note]worthy... No ordinary woman could do it."[5] While female cross-dressing may not have automatically been presumed to be a physical manifestation of an "alternative" sexual preference, it—like lesbianism itself—was condemned in the Biblical Deuteronomy. Since Christianity has long formed the backbone of American culture, cross-dressing was classified as a definite indicator of the nontraditional behavior rampant in the underground lesbian community.

The social penalty for gender non-normative dress did not translate to the silver screen, though. Traditionally, the lure of cinema has been escapism, the idea that the world on the reel is similar, but ultimately very different, from the one in reality. Consequently, the cross-dressing women seen on the screen were merely donning a specific costume—literally, in the case of *Morocco* (1930), the film produced nearest to the ultimate validation of the Production Code, also in 1930—and thus of no threat to society's normative gender binary. Further examination, however, points to a definite correlation between these masculine "costumes" and a lesbian subtext, both on and off the big screen.

Marlene Dietrich, a prominent actress in Classical Hollywood, had a long history of mixed gender attire. As one contemporary

puts it, "Dietrich exemplified the 'garconne' (boy-girl) tradition popular in Europe in the twenties and thirties."[6] Alongside admiration for her European stylishness, Dietrich was subject to a multitude of rumors revolving around her sexual orientation; her social character was frequently associated with bisexuality:[7] "[Dietrich's] name was linked to many famous women, from Edith Piaf to her greatest screen rival, Greta Garbo...the exception was her long-term affair with writer Mercedes de Acosta. They displayed their affection for one another publicly."[8] Her off-screen persona (that of an un-American sexual deviant) significantly influenced interpretations of her films—in particular, *Morocco*.

Morocco features Dietrich as Amy Jolly, a depressed stage performer traveling to Morocco to pursue a career there. Viewers are first introduced to the ironically named Jolly as a lonely ship passenger, resting on the railing, perhaps contemplating throwing herself off the ship. This initial scene already indicates a disconnect between what is shown through the acting of Dietrich herself (depression) and what is told by the scripted movement of the Production Code-approved plot ("Jolly"); this disconnect warns the perceptive audience to keep a sharp eye throughout the rest of the film for similar incongruities.

As the scene continues on, the audience sees Jolly rejecting the attention and assistance of Monsieur La Bessiere, a man apparently and consistently romantically interested in Ms. Jolly: "I won't need any help," she responds in a nondescript tone, unaffected. The theme of Jolly denying the advances of men will continue throughout the film, particularly during her performances. During her first performance, for example, she steps away from the men who reach out to touch her; later, when singing and selling apples, she pulls her boa away from a man affectionately pulling it, and even snubs the gentleman, Tom Brown, who will eventually become her romantic interest: "I'd sit down if I were you," he tells her in an exacting tone, pulling her by the arm onto his lap. Jolly stands immediately; "You're pretty brave—with women," she rebuffs, and the crowd laughs at the defeated Brown. There is clearly a joke in the phallic image of the boa—used as a stage costume in addition to her

later masculine cross-dressing—which she defiantly keeps whenever men attempt to take it. Jolly keeps her masculinity, her butch lesbian identity, in the face of the catcalls and advances of men.

Jolly's performances illustrate most precisely the lesbian subtext of *Morocco*. The most infamous scene in the film occurs during Jolly's initial performance at the Moroccan club, for which she is clad in a men's tailored tuxedo—in drag—an obvious indicator of novel intentions. According to Weiss, "Dietrich's cross-dressed image evokes the sexual ambiguity so central to her star persona... [her] image could be constructed by spectators in relation to extratextual rumors [of lesbianism]."[9] Jolly wanders around the audience, singing, before settling on a table occupied by a woman and two men. "May I have this?" Jolly asks in reference to the woman's white, ornamental flower.

The flower, here, can easily be interpreted as a symbol to reinforce a Sapphic connection between these two women. To give another one's "flower" is a colloquial euphemism in use since the fourteenth century meaning to lose one's virginity.[10] Virginity—innocence, virtuousness, morality—can be seen in this flower, which is white no less, to strengthen the notion of unmarked purity. In order for Jolly to kiss her—in order to engage in what is an apparent act of lesbian desire—this woman must willingly surrender that flower, and all that it symbolizes.

"Of course," the woman replies, obviously smitten by the confident, masculine Jolly as she takes the woman's flower. The shot holds as Jolly's gaze lingers on the woman. After a few seconds' admiration, Jolly reaches down to the woman and gracefully kisses her lips before taking the flower back to the stage to finish her number. The entire crowd—and, specifically, the object of Jolly's affections—express delight in the forms of laughter, applause, and general cheer.

This scene is saturated with lesbian subtext, as Yvonne Tasker, a noted writer on film, sex, and gender, remarks:

> The pleasure and danger of such images indicate a structure of disavowal which bridges a delight in transformation and a sense in which the narrative seeks to reveal who the

> cross-dresser *really* is (or to suggest that such a truth exists). Of course disavowal also involves acknowledging the presence of the very thing or desire that its operation seeks to distance. The presence of same-sex desire is perhaps the most obvious casualty here.[11]

What makes the lesbian text here "sub"? How is same-sex desire sacrificed in light of the fact that two women, apparently embodying the butch/femme ideals of the time, have kissed and have both obviously enjoyed doing so?

Immediately after receiving the flower, Jolly moves to the stage, and past Brown, who has been perceptibly ogling her since she stepped from behind the curtain. From the stage, she tosses the flower—what has become a physical manifestation of lesbian desire—to Brown. Conveniently, the woman from whom the flower came is normatively dismissed and never appears again; Brown becomes the central focus for Jolly, a new romantic target. Later, when Brown is actually in Jolly's room, he still wears the flower in his hat. Jolly removes the flower and looks longingly at it, a mirror image of her gaze at the woman from whom the flower came, then throws it suddenly and almost violently to the ground before kissing Brown, solidifying her transference of emotion from the anonymous woman—representative of all women, everything female—to Brown.

Though Jolly transfers her passion from the anonymous female in the crowd to Tom Brown, the relationship faces a number of difficulties. Although it falls into the heteronormative schematic of an acceptable pursuit, there remains the issue of class: Brown is a mere foot solider, while Jolly is clearly a woman of means. When Brown visits Jolly in her room, after they've kissed, she says, "You better go now. I'm beginning to like you." For socially dictated reasons, their romantic relationship is not permissible, and it is portrayed as something against which they both must fight. This conflict, while it does exist as a source of tension within the plot, is clearly more acceptable than any sort of Sapphic ordeal in which Jolly could engage, and is a thinly veiled replacement used to circumvent the Production Code's homophobic editing process.

While the Hays Office (enforcers of the Production Code) likely did cut down on bits of homocentric dialogue littered throughout the film, some definitive text was left behind. When Jolly is perceptibly depressed in her room, Brown reaches out to her: "Is there anything I can do to help you?" Jolly does not hesitate to respond: "No. I've heard that before. Or do you think you can restore my faith in men?" At this juncture—that is, before she dismisses the flower in his cap and kisses him—the perceptive audience will connect Jolly's dissatisfaction and evident lack of faith in men with that of the women about whom Brown's captain speaks in the very beginning: those women not interested in men, who are "not for them."

Likewise, Jolly dismisses La Bessiere's marriage proposal with the same distance, indifference, and apathy towards the male sex as she has throughout the film:

Jolly: I don't think I care to take advantage of your tempting offer.

La Bessiere: Then you're in love.

Jolly: I don't think I am.

La Bessiere assumes that the only way Jolly would reject a marriage offer would be if she were in love with Brown. While on one level this is true—insomuch as Brown is a surrogate for lesbian desire—on another level, it isn't, and her rejection stands alone. Jolly's dismissal of La Bessiere's proposal does not necessitate love of another man, or love of anyone, and Jolly quickly dismisses his heterosexist comment.

As much can be found in what Jolly says as in what she leaves unsaid: she develops a habit over the course of the film of remaining silent when any answer she may supply would suggest definite heterosexual or homosexual desire. Upon Brown's initial entrance into Jolly's room, she reacts: "Oh. It's you." Brown appears mildly offended, and asks, "What's the matter? Were you expecting someone else?" She abstains from comment; her remark did, in fact, suggest she may have been expecting another, perhaps the woman whose flower she took at the Moroccan night club, since viewers have seen Jolly associate socially with no one else except that woman and Brown.

This ambiguous self-silencing crosses the film's divide between her love solely for women and her love for women superimposed onto Brown. The evening of her engagement dinner, La Bessiere leaves the guests to bring her downstairs, while she silently sulks on her bed. They begin to discuss Brown's current position fighting in Morocco, and Jolly assures La Bessiere: "You needn't worry about him, dead or alive." La Bessiere smiles, unconvinced, and says, "There's still time to tell me." Instead of issuing an answer related to the conversation Jolly takes the attention off of herself and places it back on their engagement dinner guests: "Come on. They're waiting." Viewers see this again when Jolly, after drinking heavily, is finally living up to her name and La Bessiere stumbles across her. "How do you like me now?" she asks with an inebriated grin. "You seem gay tonight. Have you heard from Private Brown?" Jolly's demeanor changes immediately, and she leaves. This is perhaps the most deliberately built bridge between Brown and proxied lesbian desire: Brown is directly associated with gayness, which, again, can be interpreted as either a casual comment or as a direct reference to non-heterosexual subtexts. Though there is some debate surrounding the origin of the association of the word "gay" with "homosexuality," the Oxford English Dictionary places the union of the two in the early 1920s, years before this film's debut.[12]

Jolly/Dietrich is not the only source of non-heterosexual subtext: the film hints in more than one place a sort of disjuncture with heterosexuality, or some sort of road-block to achieving a happy heterosexual relationship. The very first line in the film, delivered by the leader of Brown's military troupe, tips viewers off to this incongruity: "I know what you're thinking. All the booze in the world, made just for you, with the women thrown in. Well, you're wrong." There is nothing inherently anti-heterosexual in this statement; it can be interpreted as a simple warning to the men to control their multiple appetites in light of the war they are fighting: they should not over-indulge in alcohol, and not all women are interested in them. Alternatively, though, it is not difficult to read his words as meaning that not all women are interested in *men*—an important distinction defining a group who refuse to engage in

any sort of relationships (physical, romantic, and sometimes even platonic) with men.

Additionally, viewers see another, smaller female character obviously dissatisfied with her heterosexual relationship. Unnamed, this character is only in the film for approximately ten minutes, before viewers see the drag-clad Jolly. She is sitting at a table in the Moroccan club with a man in uniform who is obviously her partner. When La Bessiere comes to ask how she is, she replies dully, "I've been lonely." Next, Brown enters the club, and after sitting, waves to the young woman. She pretends to look behind her, which encourages her partner to do the same, only to spin around and return Brown's salutations behind her partner's back. Clearly, this woman's relationship is a charade; she feels "lonely" with him and has made designs on Brown, who viewers soon come to see as a Sapphic substitute.

The last scene of *Morocco* has La Bessiere and Jolly in town, where the soldiers—including Brown, supposedly—are returning from battle. When Brown is not immediately visible, Jolly stops another solider to ask about him, and she is told he is continuing on foot to the next military destination. She watches from the city limits as the men march on through the desert, a vast expanse of shapeless sand. After several moments of contemplation, she hugs La Bessiere good-bye, and marches off with the convoy. Jolly's last action in the film is to remove her high-heeled shoes and discard them in the sand, hiking the sand hills to catch up with Brown.

The extremely feminine and constrictive shoes represent the constriction of traditional femininity, specifically in light of heterosexuality. Jolly is rejecting this tradition in pursuit of her love, Brown, the coded embodiment of lesbian desire. Earlier in the film, when watching the troops leave for the first time and the women who went with them, she comments: "Those women must be mad." La Bessiere counters, "They love their men." While Jolly likely would have said the same thing were those sentiments reversed, she has come to feel that same love for a person who happens to be bodily male, for Production Code purposes, and so she confidently joins the march.

From the film's very first line to Dietrich's very last action, *Morocco* is more than a classic heterosexual romance. Jolly/Dietrich's infamous cross-dressing is the first and most obvious indicator of non-normative behavior: Dietrich's real-life "garconne" lifestyle mirrors this perfectly. It would logically follow that other aspects of her off-screen infamy—specifically, her sexual exploits with other women—could reflect within the film as well. Allusions to the real-life Dietrich through Jolly are magnified by the character's carefully scripted silences, detachment from masculine company, and attraction to what is clearly a Production Code-approval vehicle for her transferred Sapphic desires: a lower-class male solider. *Morocco* embodies what it meant to circumvent the Board of Censors and display a coded lesbian romance, and it was not the only film to do so.

2

Queen Christina (1933), starring Greta Garbo, follows the same pattern. Garbo's off-screen persona was frequently associated with poorly hidden promiscuous affairs with other women.[13] Additionally, the film itself was "based on the life of a real Swedish monarch, *and* lesbian."[14] Queen Christina Adolphus, reigning from 1668 to 1689 in Sweden,[15] was known as an active lesbian: "historical documentation supports a lesbian reading of Christina...Her 'masculine dress and sexual advances were recorded' in the letters of her numerous contemporaries in Paris."[16] In a bar room chat between two nameless characters during the film itself, they suggest she has slept with several men annually; while the construction of her heterosexuality is false, Christina was known for oscillating from one Sapphic sexual affair to the next. Likewise, Garbo's name was consistently associated with lesbian lovers, specifically with Mercedes de Acosta, who would also have an affair with Marlene Dietrich.[17]

Gender confusion arises the very instant *Queen Christina* begins. The first full minute of the film leaves viewers curious to know the character dressing in and adjusting masculine clothing. The camera lands on a close-up of this character's face, mostly hidden behind a

large hat. The character looks up at the peak of suspense to reveal a decidedly feminine face, grinning at the apparent deception of the audience. Christina's gender non-normativity is not only cemented by her own confidence in her masculine identity, but also reinforced by the confirmation from others that she is a wholly masculine person. She is mistaken for a man on more than one occasion throughout the course of the film. When hunting in the woods—a decidedly masculine pastime—she comes across and assists the Spanish Prince, Antonio, whose carriage has gotten caught in the mud. Afterwards, he tells his servant, Pedro, to "give the boy a dollar."

Later, when Queen Christina arrives at the inn, the innkeeper asks, "What can I do for you, young man?" When Christina comments on the "lonesomeness" of the inn, he responds: "Well that's soon remedied. A fine young man like your lordship? Why, it's a cold night to be alone, that's certain. I could find your lordship some good company if you're in the mood." Christina responds, "You're quite the host," but does not say no to the possibility of spending the night with another woman. The innkeeper does eventually send a servant girl, Elsa, to the room that Queen Christina, under her guise of a well-to-do gentleman, is sharing with the Spanish Prince (out of necessity for a lack of vacancies). Elsa, exiting the room, removes the feminine scarf around her neck to reveal bare shoulders and a moderate amount of cleavage, telling Christina, "If you should need anything, my room is at the end of the passage." After Elsa has left, Antonio admits to Christina, "She prefers you. You have the better chance." Clearly, Christina's masculine presence is not only convincing to her male cohorts in the film, but also to other women as potential lovers.

Although Christina imitates the men around her, she has no need for them in her life, and consistently reasserts her independence. Early in the film, a young page comes to inform the Queen about the current happenings in the war abroad. Christina, annoyed, replies: "I don't need you to tell me, the reports tell me." When her personal servant, Alger, comes to wake her the first morning viewers see depicted in the film, he comments, "Ah, your majesty, every morning I come to wake you, and every morning I find you already awake."

The Queen's autonomy supersedes professional boundaries: in addition to taking an active stance in her royal position, she repeatedly rejects the notion of erotic involvement with men, especially in the form of marriage. The Chancellor, insisting she marry her romantic nemesis Prince Charles, tries to persuade her by threatening her with loneliness: "But your majesty, you cannot die an old maid." Christina, however, remains unphased: "I have no intention to, Chancellor. I shall die a bachelor!" This phrasing points to the greater independence accorded to unmarried men, which is a parallel to the independence she herself faces when making her decisions about those with whom she will become romantically engaged. Additionally, and more to the point, it solidifies her self-perception as one of a masculine, independent individual, unconcerned at best with finding a male suitor—a butch lesbian, so to speak.

Not only does she reject the idea of male involvement herself, but she celebrates the same in other women. In the same scene referred to above with Elsa and the Spanish Prince at the inn, the Prince remarks, "You're pretty, Elsa, are you also good?" Elsa responds, "If I do not like a man, yes." Christina, subtly and nearly inaudibly, comments: "That's a true virtue." Clearly, the Queen celebrates a Sapphic lifestyle.

Christina's attitude about men, while evident, is never punished. The film implies a sort of absolution for her Sapphic sins because of her noble stature and her youth—before her country needs for her to marry, she may do as she pleases. In the inn's tavern, a group of inebriated men are discussing the romantic status of their Swedish Queen, and one claims: "The truth is, the Queen has had twelve lovers this past year. A round dozen." Anyone familiar with the life of the real-life inspiration for the film can imagine this same gender-neutral phrase being spoken of the actual Sapphic monarch as well—her promiscuity was well-publicized in her time, without any traces of confusion about her lesbian sexual orientation.[18]

The forgiveness of homoerotic activity for those in power comes into play a few scenes after this. Once Antonio discovers that Queen Christina is actually a woman, romance buds between them

and they become lovers. The next morning, Pedro, the Prince's personal servant, comes to his room to keep him posted about the condition of the weather and the possibility of continuing their travels. Beyond the open door, the audience—and Pedro—can see Christina's androgynous form through the sheer curtains lining the bed. The Prince demands more Spanish chocolate of the apparently confused servant, who merely concedes: "Very good, my lord." While Pedro is comically stunned, the message beneath the humor is apparent. Obviously the servant suspects homosexual activity behind the bed's curtains, but finds it acceptable, or at least unquestionable, because of his lord's status. This is parallel to Christina's position, which audiences are encouraged to see through the use of mirror shots in the next scene—these allow the depiction of both the Prince and the Queen simultaneously without the overt use of a two-shot. The mirror reflects both the situation of the Prince within the scene, as well as the situation of Queen Christina in her Swedish reality.

This lesbian activity, then, can only be called forgivable if, at some point, the Queen intends to revoke it in favor of marrying for the sake of her country. *Queen Christina* is riddled with conversations, especially with the Chancellor, about marrying Prince Charles, famous among the Swedes for his glory on the battlefield and his love for his country. This is the first conversation between Christina and the Chancellor on the matter:

Chancellor: Your majesty, I must again speak to you about your marriage with Prince Charles.

Christina: Ah, this eternal talk about Charles; I cannot tell you how it wearies me. I do not see eye to eye with Charles about anything.

Chancellor: But he's a hero!

Christina: There are varieties of heroes. He's a hero of fighting and fighting bores me. His only gift is with a sword.

Chancellor: The sword has made Sweden great, your majesty.

Christina: Yes, but do we not exalt that gift too much, Chancellor?

Here, the Queen makes it evident that she does not see eye to

eye with Charles about "anything"—which can easily be read to include heterosexual romance—based on his (and others') love and celebration of his "sword." The sword is, of course, a blatant phallic symbol chosen by the writers of this film to signal the actual meaning behind this discourse: that is, that the disparity in sexual orientation between the two prevents Christina from consenting to marriage, even in spite of the immense love of her country repeatedly mentioned throughout the film. The Chancellor, of course, admires Charles' sword: he is encouraging Christina, whose promiscuities he well knows, to settle down and marry for the sake of Sweden. The Queen, keen to the Chancellor's motives, accuses him—and society ("we")—of placing too much emphasis on traditional heteronormative couplings and their supposed stability. The conversation continues:

> **Chancellor**: [Sigh] You cannot remake the world, your majesty.
>
> **Christina**: Why not?...Will they not follow us, who lead them beyond themselves, where there is grace and beauty, gaiety and freedom?

Here, the Chancellor implicates naïveté onto Christina's ideal notions of a society beyond convention and control over romantic choices—a powerful social message in 1930s America, where those accused of homosexual activity were consistently imprisoned, lobotomized, or worse.[19] Christina counters his dismissal, arguing that it is actually the responsibility of leaders to demonstrate unconventional activity to encourage others to grow into freedom of expression and, in case her message was at all unclear, "gaiety."

Christina consistently fights against the traditional customs, tripping on the social pressures to satisfy the heteronormative expectations of her people, enforced by both her position and the Chancellor. This same conversation continues throughout the film:

> **Christina**: All my life I have been a symbol. A symbol is eternal and changeless; an abstraction. A human being is mortal and changeable, with desires and impulses, hopes and despairs. I am tired of being a symbol, Chancellor; I long to be a human being. This longing I cannot suppress.

Chancellor: And yet you must. You will...

Christina: ...yet something in me cries out that this cannot be true. That one *must* live for oneself. After all, Chancellor, one's life is all one has.

Chancellor: Yes, your majesty, it is all one has. Therefore you must give it up to your duty. Greatness demands all.

Christina: Am I great, Chancellor? I feel so little and helpless. And futile.

Chancellor: Yes, your majesty, when you are alone. But tomorrow, when this hall is filled with the greatness of your realm, you will meet the occasion; you will do your duty; you will marry Prince Charles.

The "longing" she "cannot suppress" directly contradicts the Chancellor's desire for her to fulfill her "duty" as a "symbol" and "marry Prince Charles"—what else could she mean but lesbian desire?

The subject of this lesbian desire is Countess Ebba, a character introduced to the audience in direct contrast to Prince Charles. Alger is assisting Queen Christina to dress in her masculine attire when he comments, "They say you are going to marry Prince Charles." This sparks a conversation about Christina's duty to marry him, which Alger encourages. At this point, Ebba enters the room and bows. Christina excitedly ushers her in, kissing her, and dismisses Alger. The kiss—coupled with the fact that Christina continues to dress openly in front of Ebba—suggests an intimacy founded in reverberation; that is, this is not the first time they have kissed, and this is not the first time they have not been fully clothed around the other. As queer film critic Shameem Kabir refers to the act: "the famous kiss on the lips at their first meeting, too brief for some, but enough to convey lesbian desire...read from this kiss that it is not a first kiss, there have been other kisses, and from that we can read there have been other women as well, also with kisses."[20] This intimate act is meant to signal not only a history with one another, but more significantly, a history with women in general.

Ebba came to complain that they had not been spending enough time together, a grievance Christina attempts to placate by promising days alone together off "in the country, just the two of

[them]." Ebba cements the intimacy of a pre-existing relationship with her response: "You always say that...but at the end of the day you're surrounded by musty old papers and musty old men and I can't get anywhere near you." This exchange, early in the film, acts as a microcosm for the film's Sapphic theme: Christina's regal position consistently and directly interferes with the full realization of her lesbian desires after the introduction of Prince Charles, the man she is now at the age to marry.

Unfortunately, it is Ebba's betrayal which prevents any evident lesbian relation from continuing. After rejecting a male suitor, the Queen demands of her nearest servant: "Where is Countess Ebba?" She is directed to a spiral staircase, where she overhears the following conversation between Countess Ebba and an unnamed Count:

> **Count**: The Queen is selfish. It is simple for her; she orders and you obey. How long are you going on this way? Every time we meet you promise to tell her you love me and you want to marry me and you never do.
>
> **Ebba**: The trouble is the Queen is so dominating. She's interested only in her own concerns. She never asks me.

The Queen stomps loudly, making her presence known and preventing any further verbal exchange. Both the Countess and the Count bow, and Christina yells, "Leave us!" to Ebba's suitor. "Forgive me!" Ebba begs, "Forgive him!" Christina attempts to remain stoic, but is clearly heartbroken. Her emotions spawn this conversation:

> **Christina**: It is you I cannot forgive, Ebba. You needn't fear my domination any longer.
>
> **Ebba**: Your Majesty, please.
>
> **Christina**: You pretended to be interested in me and my problems. Your sympathy, your concern, all a pretense under which you resent me.
>
> **Ebba**: You don't understand, Your Majesty—
>
> **Christina**: The trouble is, Ebba, that I do.

While a casual observer can read the Queen's final words as a way to accuse Ebba of infidelity and insult, it can also be understood as being spoken sincerely. Christina *does* understand the pressure to conform to heteronormative couplings, to maintain a charade

of potential romantic interest in the other sex, and to eventually marry. Her heartbreak, then, may not result from any actual feelings of personal betrayal, but rather from recognizing the futility and frustration of her relationship with Ebba. They cannot be together; while the Queen may do as she pleases, passing on her regal status, Ebba, a mere countess, cannot participate in Sapphic affairs without consequence.

As is the trend, the masculine woman's romantic feelings must be transferred to a new, more socially acceptable (and Production Code approved) host. This occurs much later in the film, after Queen Christina and the Spanish Prince have begun their affair. She writes a love letter for the Prince, and gives it to Ebba to deliver. The scene in which Ebba gives the Prince the letter—in which she hands over the passionate words of the Queen, given to Ebba, to the Prince—is almost purely symbolic.

Though the Queen's romantic interest has been relocated to Antonio, there of course remains an obstacle to their potential to be together peacefully. The Sapphic element of Christina's love has been sublimated by the fact that the Spanish Prince is foreign; just as no one approved of a female partner for the Queen, no one approves of a non-Swedish partner for the Queen. When rumors of her relationship with the Prince begin to circulate, she is confronted again by the Chancellor about her marriage to Prince Charles:

> **Chancellor**: It is for Sweden—it is your duty.
>
> **Christina**: Why is it my duty? My days and nights are given up to the service of the state. My days and nights are so cramped with duty that to be able to read a book I have to rise in the middle of the night! I serve the people with all my thoughts, with all my energy, with all my dreams, waking and sleeping. I do not wish to marry and they cannot force me.
>
> **Chancellor**: You must give Sweden an heir.
>
> **Christina**: Not by Charles, Chancellor.
>
> **Chancellor**: ...There are rumors that your majesty is planning a foreign marriage?
>
> **Christina**: [Hesitation] They're baseless.

Christina is not the only one facing persecution for such affairs. Lord Magnus, a suitor of Christina's whom she has consistently rejected, harasses the Spanish Prince directly:

> **Magnus**: The climate here, my lord, is fit only for those who are used to it; it's not suited to *foreigners*. I advise you to protect yourself against it; you must be very careful.
>
> **Antonio**: Is this...is this a threat, my lord?
>
> **Magnus**: It's a warning. A friendly warning.

Like the class differentiation between Jolly and Brown in *Morocco*, the difference in national origin becomes a concern. The Spanish Prince's "foreignness" becomes the proxy for the Queen's Sapphic desires after her transference of romantic intentions from Ebba to a male-bodied supplement. Lesbian love is forbidden in the Sweden of the film, while association with a "foreigner" is a socially acceptable catalyst for tension under a heteronormative dynamic.

Their relationship not only causes discord within the royal circle, but once the information reaches the people of Sweden, chaos emerges in the streets. One scene depicts a man inciting a crowd against the Queen's new relationship:

> **Man**: I tell you, Sweden's facing the greatest danger in her history, greater than war! And it's a danger that hides in the highest counselors in the nation, in the palace itself, in the very chamber of the Queen! Nay, I do not charge the Queen with disloyalty; but she's under a spell! The spell of the Spanish witchcraft. The Spaniard is here with a proposal from Philip of Spain. Why doesn't she send him away? Do you want a Spanish sovereign?
>
> **Crowd**: No!
>
> **Man**: Do you want to give up the Protestant faith, for which our fathers fought and died, to go to Rome?
>
> **Crowd**: No!

The scene following this accusation of witchcraft shows Christina and the Spanish Prince in a carriage moving through the streets; surrounding them are the flames of torches wielded by angry townspeople, who yell "Send that Spaniard back home!" and "Get him out of here!" and "Down with the Spaniard!" The

combination of witchcraft allegations and the illusion of a hellish setting may seem a bit extreme for a Swede-Spaniard couple, but looking through the lens of lesbian subtext, it fits perfectly. Non-heteronormative behavior was without fail condemned by all religious affiliates, so much so that the popular lesbian pulp fiction books of the time began to take on the theme: *Satan is a Lesbian*, for example.[21]

Later in the film, these same rioters enter Queen Christina's castle, still with their torches and other weapons in hand. They begin to climb the spiral staircase, and she stands at the top, silently. They, too, fall silent, until someone yells, "Send the Spaniard home!" and the crowd begins to scream again. The camera pulls to a long-shot of both the Queen and her questionably loyal subjects, emphasizing the symbolic spatial gap between them. Though they do not attack her, they plainly could, and no guards have come to the Queen's rescue. Visually, the shadows of the crowd stretch the length of her two-story wall, while she stands alone, shadowless and defenseless, silent. Christina has become a monster to them.

In the royal court, meanwhile, the audience sees a meeting progressing in much the same intolerant manner. In the scandal of this coupling between the Queen and a "foreigner," the men in the court have taken to yelling at one another in moral disgust: "The Church would never allow such a marriage!" and "The Queen would never contemplate such a marriage!" At this point, the Queen enters the room, which falls silent, and addresses the court:

> **Christina**: I have been driving in the streets, and have heard disgraceful things. How is it we are not better policed? Insulting our guest insults us. Why is this not made clear to them?
>
> **Chancellor**: The people resent this man, your Majesty. Not in his own person, but as interfering with your marriage to Prince Charles.
>
> **Christina**: You have fed them this hope, when you've known all the time I have no wish to gratify it. I hold you responsible; all of you.
>
> **Archbishop**: Your Majesty is not intending to accept King Phillip's offer [to marry his son, Prince Charles]?

Christina: No.

Chancellor: In that case, the presence of the Spanish envoy is superfluous. He could go home.

Christina: Why? Do I peer into the lives of my subjects, and dictate whom they shall love? Will I serve them less if I'm happy? What strangely foolish title is it that calls me a ruler if in what concerns me most nearly I am to have no voice? It is intolerable! There is a freedom which is mine, which the state cannot take away! To the unreasonable tyranny of the mob, and the malicious tyranny of policy, I will not submit!

This monologue from the Queen on her freedom—or lack thereof—to love is some of the strongest evidence for the Sapphic subtext of the film. Her speech all but directly addresses any lesbian viewers in identifying with the struggles of the real-life Queen Christina.

Queen Christina's repeated failed attempts to find happiness in a relationship—namely, her inability to consumate her Sapphic desires—contribute to her ideas about the inability of love to exist and her longing for a place in a society which she does not believe exists (and which certainly did not exist in 1930s mainstream America). After meeting Antonio at the inn, while he still believes her to be a man, they have the following conversation:

Antonio: Love, as we understand it, can only be practiced in hot countries.

Christina: Sounds glamorous, and yet…

Antonio: What?

Christina: Somewhat mechanical. Evidently you Spaniards make too much fuss about a simple, elemental thing like love. We Swedes are more direct.

Antonio: Well, that's civilization. Disguise the elemental with the glamorous. The great love has to be nourished, has to be—

Christina: The great love?

Antonio: Don't you believe in its possibility?

Christina: In its possibility, yes, but not in its existence.

> A great love, perfect love, is an illusion. It is the golden fable of which we all dream. In an ordinary life, it doesn't happen. In an ordinary life, one must settle for less.
>
> **Antonio**: [Laughs] So young, and yet so disillusioned. Young man, you're cynical.
>
> **Christina**: [Laughs] Not at all.

The Spanish Prince is speaking in simple terms of something he, as a heteronormative individual, sees as simple: love. For the lesbian Queen Christina, however, things are much more complex: "the possibility of acting on lesbian desire has always been there, but the existence of a lesbian identity is only a recent phenomenon, and still only relatively accessible."[22] The Swedish directness to which she refers—manifest in her earlier relationship with Ebba—has been evidently punished and extinguished as a result of social expectations. Incapable of satisfying her Sapphic desire, and not yet having transferred her passion to the Prince via the love letter she will later send, she cannot recognize "the great love." Christina notably, but casually, denies his accusation of cynicism: she is, in fact, being merely realistic, as the type of love she would like to achieve is literally impossible in her time and society.

The Queen does, however, still imagine the "possibility" of this love, unable to see it enacted by herself or anyone around her. In reassigning her emotions to an appropriate proxy—Antonio—she seems to utilize his Spanish background as a means for expressing her feelings. About Spain, she says: "One can feel nostalgia for places one has never seen." If he is a Sapphic proxy—and especially if it is his Spanish identity which will cause so much chaos in the latter half of the film—then Spain must be the veritable Island of Lesbos, from whence objects of her desire may come.

This sort of metaphor, of the Spanish representing the lesbian, continues throughout the inn scenes. Antonio has brought grapes ripened in the "Spanish sun," to which he attributes the ability for love to thrive. While sensually consuming these grapes, they are sitting next to a fire—a proxied sort of sun, from which they are able to gather the necessary heat for their "love." In light of this

series of proxies, Queen Christina goes on to say, "I have imagined happiness, but a happiness you cannot imagine; happiness you must *feel*, joy you must *feel*. And the joy I feel now..." The grapes are in a bowl between them, obviously positioned, and she touches them as she leans in to kiss him.

During this scene, they are both clad in their night gowns, which, while casual on Christina, seems almost "drag" on the Prince: "Antonio is feminized though he is not effeminate. In the same way, Christina is phallicized, her male costume and her status as sovereign invest her with power, but she herself can be seen as transcending gender, incorporating the best of masculinities and femininities."[23] In this way, in spite of their respective sexes, they fall into a sort of butch-femme dynamic.

The film itself reinforces the idea of the nonexistence of satisfied lesbian desire and perpetuates this connection between Spain and Sapphic love. Near the end of the film, after Queen Christina has denied the proposal of Prince Charles, she attempts to hand over her crown to him:

> **Christina**: I am grateful for your loyalty, but there is a voice in all our souls which tells us what to do, and we obey. I have no choice....My lord, will you take this crown from my head?
>
> **Chancellor**: No, your majesty, I will not do it. I swore to your father I would always keep that crown upon your head. I will have no part in this; nor do I think there is any here who will.

The Chancellor is correct: Christina is the odd one out. Instead of reacting in tragedy, she takes it upon herself to remove her crown and robes herself. The crowds gasp in shock at such a bold act of independence and social discord. "And now, farewell," she says. Although she speaks to the crowd, it is apparent her goodbye applies to the entirety of Sweden, to its social standards, to its Sapphically hostile climate, and to everything she has been unable to accomplish romantically. On her way out of the room, Christina kisses Ebba again, this time leaving her behind to marry the suitor with whom she was earlier caught and fulfill her heteronormative

gender stereotype, an apparent contrast to the Queen's destiny.

Once on the boat, however, viewers see that Antonio has actually fallen ill, and before even finishing his conversation with Christina, the Spanish Prince dies, reinforcing the idea that in Sweden, non-heteronormative relationships are literally unable to exist. A servant asks, "Do you still want to sail your majesty?" The Queen murmurs something nearly inaudible about a house on a cliff Antonio has previously described to her before consenting: "Yes, Auge. We will sail." In spite of Antonio's death, there still exists a foreign place accepting of her lesbian identity. The final shot of the film is a tight shot showing only Christina's face, unassociated with any location or person, emphasizing with finality her autonomous and non-normative existence unable to be curtailed by either her home or her royal stature.

Both of these films adapt certain intentional conventions in order to carefully code the lesbian subtext involved in their respective narratives. In *Queen Christina*, gender confusion is portrayed in a comedic light in order to render the cross-dressing Queen non-threatening. The Spanish Prince in a gown and Christina in male attire play on a form of comic relief popular in Classical Hollywood Cinema: the sissy. While it may seem the Production Code would strike down such a character, this was not the case: "The sissy made everyone feel more womanly or more manly by occupying the space in between. He didn't seem to have a sexuality, so Hollywood let him thrive."[24] These characters relieve the tension of potentially uncomfortable situations for the audience when the Sapphic subtext might rise a little too close to the surface. Likewise, the Prince's gown counter-balances what his squire believes is really happening—that is, that two men have just engaged in physical intimacy—by putting himself in a feminine position against her masculine persona, which mirrors their heterosexual relationship, and all of which codes the Sapphic connotations of her as a butch lesbian and him as a proxy for Ebba. While the audience may not be quite aware of the delicate nature of

this balancing and counter-balancing of the feminine and the masculine, the joke emitting from the circumstance was enough to distract from the actual message being conveyed by the film. As lesbian director Quentin Crisp put it, "The sissy was always a joke. There's no sin like being a woman—when a man dresses like a woman, the audience laughs. When a woman dresses [as a] man, nobody laughs."[25] While the audience is laughing, the director, the writers, and the actresses themselves are sending a very real, very Sapphic message to those willing to see it. Thus, the sissy, by complicating gender distinctions in a relatively acceptable way, is vital in *Queen Christina* to dismantling discomfort with the butch Christina.

Morocco and *Queen Christina* also fully utilize the convention of surrogacy. Both films involve a transference of established female-to-female attraction to a more suitable male proxy, and in particular emphasize a transference of the actual act of engaging in a lesbian relationship onto some other, Production Code-approved obstacle. For example, in *Queen Christina*, the tension of sustaining a relationship with the Spanish Prince falls on his "foreignness." Because the Prince is from Spain, the town disapproves of their relationship, the Chancellor pressures her to switch suitors, and the Prince himself even receives threats from other high-ranking officials in the Swedish court. In *Morocco*, Tom Brown's class is what falls under the film's scrutiny. Amy Jolly is an obviously rich woman, but her attraction to the poor foot solider is again and again undermined by her other, richer suitor, as well as the demands from the military unit to which Brown belongs. It is their class disparity that prevents any sort of relationship from really solidifying between them during the film. For both *Queen Christina* and *Morocco*, these superficial blockades act as proxies for the intended message: these relationships cannot work because they are, in essence, lesbian relationships. The male substitutes who carry the weight of their Sapphic love via some significant scene of transference—Ebba gives the Spanish Prince a love letter from the Queen, Amy Jolly gives Tom Brown the flower she took from the woman in the audience—must also carry the resistance of the society around them to accept their love, as would be their Sapphic fate in the reality beyond the screen.

These conventions, utilized in multiple ways in all of these films, create double meanings for the romantic interests of their characters. The more overt, socially acceptable meaning, rendered by a superficial reading of the films in question, exists only to circumvent the Production Code. This oblique means of communicating lesbian themes is facilitated by the ambiguity of women in drag, as opposed to the unequivocal gay or "sissy" overtone of men in drag. As a vehicle for the more subversive, Sapphic interpretation of the central actresses, these films—and the Sapphic, butch actresses therein—deliver a message to the lesbian subculture of the time which inspires solidarity and comfort.

NOTES

1. John Belton, "The Production Code," *Movies and Mass Culture*, ed. John Belton (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 136.

2. *Celluloid Closet*, DVD, directed by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman (1996; California: Brillstein-Grey Entertainment).

3. Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1992).

4. Ibid.

5. Keely Savoie, "Screen Butch Blues: The Celluloid Fate of Female Masculinity," *BITCHfest: Ten Years of Cultural Criticism From the Pages of Bitch Magazine*, eds. Lisa Jervis and Andi Zeisler (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006), 99.

6. Boze Hadleigh, *The Lavender Screen: The Gay and Lesbian Films: Their Stars, Makers, Characters, and Critics* (New York: Citadel Press: 1993), 20.

7. Yvonne Tasker, *Working Girls: Gender and Sexuality in Popular Cinema*. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 23.

8. Fyne Times, *Marlene Dietrich*, http://www.fyne.co.uk/index.php?item=218.

9. Tasker, *Working Girls*, 23.

10. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50059584?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=deflower&first=1&max_to_show=10.

11. Tasker, *Working Girls*, 27-28.

12. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50093144?query_type=word&queryword=gay&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=VMju-9c6q4n-15395&hilite=50093144.

13. Robert A. Schanke, *Mercedes de Acosta: Her Loves*, 2008 http://www.robertschanke.com/mercedes/loves.htm.

14. *Celluloid Closet*, DVD.

15. Georgina Masson, "Her True Realm," *Queen Christina* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux Publishing, 1968), 345.

16. Shameem Kabir, "Early Cinema Lesbians In and Out of the Closet," *Daughters of Desire: Lesbian Representations in Film*. (Herdon, Virginia: Cassell, 1998), 168.

17. Robert A. Schanke, *Mercedes de Acosta*.

18. Georgina Masson, "Her True Realm," 357.

19. Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*.

20. Shameem Kabir, "Early Cinema Lesbians In and Out of the Closet," 167.

21. Fred Haley, *Satan was a Lesbian*. (San Diego, California: Publishers Export Company, 1966).

22. Shameem Kabir, "Early Cinema Lesbians In and Out of the Closet," 169.

23. Ibid., 168.

24. *Celluloid Closet*, DVD.

25. Ibid.

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for joanna

cut a friend for me from cardboard
put him together with glue and pliers
make him move with a system of strings
warble and rise

we will be startled into—
him bending and bowing
me wilting and moaning

i am big boned
but my wrists and waist seem easy to break

recyclable eyelashes dangling
brown brittle bones
our love is fragile

Lauren Campbell

Exhibitionist

I like it when you fuck me in the light,
when I can see the squint and pucker of your face,
the rounding of your mouth—"baby that's right!"—
I like it when you fuck me:

The articulation of your elbows as you brace
yourself gracelessly above me, the eloquence of your arched back,
    the slight
dimpling of your ass when you thrust and change pace.

I like to watch the tendons in your thighs contract and tighten,
to read your heightening pleasure in the furrows of your face.
Your body's dialog is muffled in the night;
I like it when you fuck me in the light.

Lauren Campbell

Native Conservation Efforts in Ecuador

Bess Trout

The small country of Ecuador, though dwarfed by many of its neighbors, has a great deal to offer in spite of its diminutive size. Amongst these things are both an impressive level of biodiversity and a remarkable range of native tribes and cultures. At one time, these tribes were the only people to call Ecuador home, and they depended solely upon the incredible ecology of the area for their survival. To some extent, many of these tribes have attempted to preserve their connection to the land that sustained them for thousands of years. Yet, in this new age of technology, fast food and capitalism, the relationship between the environment and the native people who call, or called, it home has changed dramatically. Now, as environmentalists and businessmen, loggers and oil companies, fight over the Ecuadorian ecosystems the native people may have a significant role to play. But what sort of role will that be? Will the tribes cast their support in with the environmental movement, or will they advocate money for the tribe at any cost? Additionally, no matter what they decide, will the people have the political power to successfully advocate for themselves with either party? To understand what leanings the native people might have, and what support or encouragement they would require to lend their voices to conservation, a number of

factors must be examined. Any cultural inclination towards an environmental ethic needs to be explored, as should modern involvement in the conservation movement. Tribe specific involvement must also be examined, along with the ways in which those tribes have benefited or suffered as a result of this involvement. Moreover, the requirements for any future participation in the conservation movement on the part of the native tribes must be discussed.

While the western concept of the "Noble Savage" represents an unrealistic ideal that no group of people could reasonably embody, it cannot be denied that native tribes do have a different perspective on the environment. All romanticism aside, the tribes of Ecuador lived close to the land for thousands of years, and during that time they almost certainly learned something about how to interact with that land. Any cultural environmental practices that these tribes have should be carefully examined, as such traditions have the potential to greatly contribute to the environmental field. First of all, the more knowledge the conservation movement has to draw upon, the greater its chances for success. For instance, if native conservation methods can be understood, they may be easier for indigenous tribes to implement for themselves on their tribal land (Coomes and Barham 180-181). Moreover, the tribes developed these native conservation methods specifically for their land, and the passage of time has carefully tested these practices. Long years spent living in the environment taught the people how to extract the most benefit from their land, while still allowing it to regenerate enough to support future generations (Bebbington et all 180). As a result, such native practices may well be more effective than outside imposed techniques. In particular, indigenous methods of farming and hunting reflect this consideration, and in order to understand indigenous interaction with the environment, these practices must be explored.

To begin with, farming exists as a practice that, while essential, can be highly injurious to the environment in which it takes place. In particular, agriculture can cause significant soil degradation. The native tribes of Ecuador certainly faced this problem, especially in the Andes where the available land is steep and soil very susceptible

to erosion. To prevent this, the native people, especially the Quichua, adopted terrace farming, allowing them to plant up the slopes with minimal loss of soil (Gade 40). The utilization of ridged farmlands clearly demonstrates a sense of the way the land works, as well as a desire to preserve it for future use. Other concerns exist beyond erosion, however, and the Andean people obviously considered these potential environmental pitfalls as well. The tribes also chose to farm in swampland, constructing raised segments of soil upon which to grow their crops (Gade 40). In so doing, the people successfully managed to cultivate the richest land that the area had to offer. This may simply have been a tactic to reduce the labor-intensive nature of farming, since the soils of swamp lands will require little to no fertilizer, and irrigation will not be necessary in the waterlogged fields. However, the fact remains that eliminating these things, fertilizer and irrigation, greatly mitigates the impact on the environment. Essentially, the less done to the cultivated land, the lower the environmental cost. Additionally, to further increase their crop production, the Andean people practiced polyculture, to ensure that the soil would contain sufficient nutrients to provide for the crops. The benefits of polyculture have come to the attention of modern scientists, and environmentalists currently encourage conventional farmers to adopt the practice.

These examples provide remarkable evidence that the native tribes carefully considered their farming techniques, and that they implemented practices that demonstrate a remarkable understanding of the environment. But this sense of environmental stewardship extends outside the realm of farming, and into the harvest of natural products as well. The strongest example of this lies in the Incan, or Quichua, practices of harvesting trees. Even today the need for fuel wood causes a great deal of deforestation, and could easily have caused the rapid destruction of forested lands in the Andes. In order to prevent deforestation, however, the Quichua people implement a practice of planting trees. The tribe called these cultivated trees *Maliko*, and referred to non-cultivated trees as *Sacha*. By differentiating between the two categories of trees the Quichua were able to control harvest by permitting the use of only

the non-cultivated stands. The cultivated trees were afforded strict protection (Gade 61). However, even with this practice the native people still carefully considered the trees they took, even going so far as to call village meetings to deliberate before cutting down harvestable stands. Even the modern logging practices of developed nations, while improved in recent years, do not demonstrate this kind of sensitivity to the needs of the ecosystem.

Native hunting practices indicate a sense of environmental stewardship as well. Rather than simply harvesting animals to the point of species depletion, which is not an unheard of occurrence in human history, the tribes of Ecuador implemented a series of laws dictating which species could be hunted and when. For instance, amongst rainforest tribes, tradition forbids the hunting of the howler monkey for two months after crops have been planted, thus allowing populations to rebound (Colding and Folke 588). In addition to these seasonal bans on hunting, however, the native people also afforded year-round protection to animals that the tribe considers to be sacred. Amongst the Shuar, for instance, the spectacled bear carried special significance and so could not be hunted (Colding and Folke 593). Many of these sacred animals were rare, so protecting them from hunting pressure prevented their populations from dwindling, or disappearing. Once again, modern environmentalism incorporates this very practice; the animals protected are simply categorized as "endangered" as opposed to sacred.

It would certainly appear, based upon the practices discussed, that many native Ecuadorian cultural traditions do take root in some sort of environmental ethic. However, environmentalists should not fall into the trap of assuming that all native practices are sustainable, or that all native people will support environmental reform. While a cultural history of ecological awareness should tip the scales somewhat, environmentalists must consider the modern attitudes, environmentally minded or otherwise, of the indigenous people before making any generalizations concerning their environmental agenda.

Just as with any group of people, the indigenous tribes of Ecuador cannot be neatly assigned one clear and distinct ecological

viewpoint. On the one hand, conservationists have worked with indigenous tribes, particularly in the rainforest, to great positive effect. Many of the indigenous farmers involved in such collaborations consider it to be their responsibility to protect the forests that they call home (Johnson 55). Such joint efforts greatly aid the environmental cause, and also the tribes involved. One of the main goals of the conservation movement should be to encourage these partnerships, and it appears that some tribes agree. In particular, a sense of environmental stewardship has begun to influence the decisions of the Amazonian people. The following excerpt comes from a document entitled "Two Agendas on Amazon Development," concerning the relationship between the native people of the Amazon and the environment itself:

> We, the Indigenous Peoples, have been an integral part of the Amazonian Biosphere for millennia. We use and care for the resources of that biosphere because it is our home, and because we know that our survival and that of our future generations depend on it. (Redford and MacLean Stearman 249)

This statement represents an incredibly powerful expression of one of the clearest motivations behind the environmental movement: the desire to protect and preserve one's home. If this sort of environmental ethic continues to grow amongst the native people, they could become a very powerful voice for the environment.

This sense of responsibility for the environment already seems to have had some impact on native life in Ecuador. Most remarkably, indigenous-run organizations have started to focus their efforts in the interest of designing resource management plans to combat the overexploitation of natural resources in the country (Bebbington et al. 183-184). This bodes well for the future as it indicates a willingness on the part of the tribes to work together for a common environmental cause. Moreover, the native tribes appear willing to overlook the differences in conservation methods and work with outside environmental groups (Redford and MacLean Stearman 249). The shared goal of a healthy environment has united the tribes of Ecuador with the outside world, a situation that could lead to great environmental success in the future.

However, the entire indigenous population of Ecuador cannot simply be reduced to one viewpoint concerning environmental preservation. The tribes have exploited the land for profit in the past, and likely will in future as well (Redford and MacLean Stearman 253). Moreover, they can hardly be blamed for doing so. Many tribes find it difficult to maintain a sense of environmental responsibility in the face of pressure from outside companies interested in exploiting tribal land (Redford and MacLean Stearman 251). These tribes often abandon their environmentally minded customs in the interest of making easy money, as the exploitation of the environment often leads to a ready income for the tribe. Indigenous hunters, for instance, will discard traditional hunting practices and harvest opportunistically, even taking rare species, in order to maximize their profit (Winterhalder and Lu 1362). Moreover, because of the poverty found in indigenous communities, the environmental movement cannot really oppose such behavior. When motivated by hunger or desperation, ecological concerns will, understandably, become secondary to the immediate requirements for survival. The introduction of modern technology only compounds this issue, because it allows native hunters to dramatically increase their hunting success (Winterhalder and Lu 1361). With the availability of advanced hunting tools, and the impetus of desperation, environmental practices will not be easy to enforce amongst native tribes unless they themselves decide to do so.

Economic motivation has also caused a change in indigenous farming methods, which have become much more unsustainable in recent years. The clearest example of this lies in the alarming shift from polyculture to monoculture that has become prevalent in indigenous farmlands (Roos and van Renterghem 29). Planting large patches of economically valuable crops will bring money into the tribe, and as a result, the traditional, more environmental techniques have, in some cases, been abandoned. Effectively, farmers employ the most lucrative method possible, regardless of environmental impact (Bebbington et al. 186). Clearly, for tribes to "go green," some sort of economic benefit must exist. As discussed, poverty acts as a driving force for the tribes, and, at least at

this point, it will often sway them towards the easy money made through environmental exploitation.

However, another layer beyond simple economic desperation exists with regards to native land ethic. This second layer is just as influential, but has to do with the politics of the indigenous situation in South America. Many native people do not own the land that they farm or live on, and because of this they lack the motivation to fight for its preservation (Redford and MacLean Stearman). This may seem like a somewhat cynical assessment of human nature, but that does not negate the validity of the statement. With no rights to ownership, what will there be to encourage a sense of responsibility to the land? Many native people simply do not see the point of investing time and energy into implementing environmental practices when they have no assurance that the land they live on will not be taken away tomorrow (Johnson 61). This problem of land ownership greatly limits the development of an environmental ethics amongst the native people of Ecuador. They must be granted land to preserve before they will go out of their way to try and preserve the land.

Effectively, the native people of Ecuador face a bevy of conflicting forces. Their need to make quick money through environmental exploitation often wars with a desire to preserve the stunning ecology of their homeland. Into this turbulent atmosphere three tribes, the Cofan, the Huaorani and the Achuar, have emerged and taken a strong stance against environmental degradation. Their actions must be discussed, as they will certainly influence the future of the environmental movement in Ecuador. These tribes actively opposed big oil and in so doing, they provide the finest and most encouraging examples available that a sense of environmental responsibility is on the rise amongst native tribes.

To begin with, the Cofan of the lowland forest took great steps against Petroecuador in order to preserve their land. They had plenty to speak out against, as the never-ending quest for oil had forced them to relocate away from their original homeland. In fact, the tribe wound up pushed against the Peruvian border, with nowhere else to go (Tidewell 15). This practice of moving native

tribes off ancestral territory occurs often in oil rich countries, and so no one questioned the removal of the Cofan. Fortunately for the tribe, however, the government of Ecuador created the Cuyabeno Wildlife Reserve in the new Cofan territory, and in that area the land would be protected, and only native people would be allowed to reside (Tidewell 10). However, such good fortune did not last, as companies soon discovered crude oil in the area around Cuyabeno, and, illegally, within Cuyabeno itself. The park itself receives official protection as a nature preserve, but the Ecuadorian Ministry of Energy and Mines can legally test any area believed to contain oil reserves (Tidewell 23-24). Clearly, Cuyabeno and the people who lived there were in trouble.

However, instead of simply allowing oil companies to come in and drill, the Cofan opposed such action. The tribe actively spoke against oil exploration, and even went so far as to confront a drilling platform located near their village, taking those found working there hostage. The Cofan used this radical and newsworthy event mostly as way of gathering publicity for their cause. Ultimately the tribe released the workers unharmed (Tidewell 19-20). In their desperation to protect themselves and their home, the Cofan deemed such extreme action to be necessary. They had a great deal at stake, and stood to suffer significant losses should oil companies work their way in to Cuyabeno. The Cofan believed that living within the reserve remained the only thing standing between themselves and cultural destruction (Tidewell 23). In all likelihood, the survival of the tribe probably did hang in the balance, as the intrusion of oil into Cuyabeno would certainly have put an end to their way of life. Essentially, failure would mean the destruction, not only of the environment, but of the Cofan's tribal heritage as well.

What success the Cofan had in their struggle against big oil did not come easily. The Ecuadorian government favors oil companies over indigenous people, so the tribe faced an uphill battle just to have their voices heard. Petroecuador, following along with the practices of many South American oil companies, effectively ignored the presence of indigenous people on the land they wanted to exploit, and the government itself allowed them to do

so (Tidewell 42). The Cofan, however, refused to be ignored. They actively opposed Petroecuador and, despite the odds against them, made their voices heard. In fact, they managed to convince the Ecuadorian Institute of Forested and Natural Areas to remove Petroecuador from the area completely (Tidewell 43). But this success did not last long. Caving into economic and political pressure, the president of Ecuador overturned the edict against drilling in Cuyabeno, and Petroecuador quickly stepped back in. However, this time, the Cofan enlisted environmental lawyers and activists from America to protest this action (Tidewell 44–45). Their partnership with outside environmental lawyers and activists indicated Cofan willingness to collaborate with the conservation movement as a whole. Moreover, collaborating with these groups led to a significant victory for the tribe. Petroecuador officially recognized Cofan presence on the land, and they agreed to involve the tribe in their drilling plans, even giving them input in the decision of whether or not to begin large scale drilling operations (Tidewell 49). This victory demonstrates that, despite the difficulty, the indigenous tribes of Ecuador can succeed in their conservation endeavors. They simply must be willing to fight an uphill battle to do so.

To this day, the Cofan remain involved in anti-oil efforts in the Amazon. At this stage they work mainly with the actual process of conservation in Cuyabeno. In fact, they have even designed a highly effective land management program enabling them to live in the park with minimal impact to the environment. They also act as guards, and can legally remove or report individuals or companies that break the laws of the reserve. They have even made their unique position lucrative, as they allow hikers on their land and offer food and lodging as well as the services of a guide (Kane 195). The Cofan have successfully found a home, obtained the right to protect that home, and created a way to benefit economically from their surroundings without overexploiting the environment. All in all, theirs is an encouraging success story.

Other tribes besides the Cofan have spoken out against oil in the Amazon. The Huaorani, one of the most reclusive Amazonian tribes, have long stood in firm opposition to the presence of oil,

so much so that they will actually attack oil companies that they find drilling on their tribal land (Siy 16). While attacking oil workers leads to negative publicity, it cannot be denied that such violent behavior certainly catapults the Huaorani cause out of the rainforest, and into the newspapers. Such extreme action creates a strong statement not only against oil companies, but also against all outsiders who dare to tamper with Huaorani land. Huaorani cultural tradition demands great respect for the environment, so they consider it their responsibility to protect the rainforest in which they live (Wood 18). However, although they have lived in the rainforest for thousands of years, they lack the political rights to launch a real campaign against oil. In fact, the Huaorani tribe has been moved time and again to make way for drilling, until finally the Ecuadorian government crowded them on narrow slices of land known as protectorates. Yet even there the Huaorani cannot outlaw oil, as oil companies still retain the right to drill on that land (Siy 19). Up against such political opposition, how could the Huaorani actively and successfully oppose any sort of interference with their land?

Yet the traditional respect for the environment that Huaorani culture encourages and the desire to protect their home from destruction motivated the tribe to speak out against big oil. In the words of Moi (one of the Huaorani leaders), "We do not destroy your home…So why must you destroy ours?" (Kane 227). The question powerfully expresses the human rights aspect to the Huaorani case against big oil. Should this case have occurred elsewhere, say in the United States, the people who lived on the disputed land would have had every right to oppose, and veto, oil drilling. Moreover, such a case would have been strongly in the public eye. Since the conflict occurred in Ecuador, the Huaorani knew better than to hope for an easy victory. Yet, they considered it their duty to try.

While some of their earlier tactics relied more on violence than negotiation, the Huaorani began their campaign in a very thoughtful way. They came together as a tribe and, rather than starting a war, instead formed a confederation known as ONHAE (Organization of the Huaorani Nation of the Ecuadorian Amazon) to speak out

against big oil and advocate indigenous rights (Siy 22). By combining forces, the Huaorani managed to move from being a loosely connected group of villages that only marginally associated with the outside world, to being a cohesive nation of people united by a shared cause. Their unification served them well, and they ultimately put their case before CONFENIAE (Confederation of Indigenous Peoples' Organizations of the Amazon Basin). During this address, the Huaorani clearly expressed their willingness to fight for their land, even to the point of death (Kane 199). Between their determined unification, and their illustrious history as powerful warriors, the Huaorani began to appear as a significant threat. As a result Maxus, the big oil company jockeying for their protectorate, reacted forcefully to tribal protest. The company began to drill, injuring and threatening those who dared to oppose them. Understandably, some of the Huaorani backed off, but many others simply increased their opposition to big oil (Kane 232). The Huaorani refused to be intimidated, and so the fear tactics employed by Maxus, instead of ending the conflict, simply served to intensify it.

The struggle continued, but even though the case achieved some notoriety the Huaorani did not gain an easy victory. In fact, what successes they could claim were fairly small (Roos and van Renterghem 42). Unfortunately, even with their increased publicity, the Huaorani simply could not overpower big oil, a long-standing focal point of the Ecuadorian government. Ultimately, the Huaorani had to make a deal with Maxus, allowing the company to drill on their land (Kane 234). The Huaorani held on to their case for as long as their political strength allowed, and their inability to get a solid foothold in this struggle succinctly demonstrates the degree to which big oil influences the Ecuadorian government.

Of course, the Huaorani did not reach the decision to compromise with Maxus easily, and even against this setback they remain involved in the conservation movement. On their protectorate, in the areas where big oil has not yet interfered, they set up hiking trails and lodging for tourists, and act as guides for hikers in the rainforest. In so doing, they manage to make enough money to live in mostly traditional ways (Wood 18). Even though the presence

of oil companies on their land dramatically impacts their way of life, the Huaorani at least gained a partial victory. What they have achieved shows remarkable determination, and a willingness to get involved that will serve them well in the future. Conservationists can only hope that the Huaorani will continue to oppose big oil and that next time, perhaps, they will be able to win the political power they need to successfully achieve their goals.

Environmental activism in the Amazon goes beyond the Huaorani and the Cofan, however. The Shuar, Achuar and Lowland Kichwa have become involved as well. In fact, these tribes joined together to call for the permanent protection of their rainforest homes. Unfortunately, as with the Cofan and the Huaorani, the Ecuadorian government already granted ConocoPhillips the right to drill on their land (Amazon Watch). However, as with the Huaorani, this confederation of tribes, all of whom have a history of warlike behavior, could pose a potentially serious threat for ConocoPhillips. Moreover, it would seem that the government perceived this threat. In March of 2004, the Ecuadorian militia directly threatened the Sarayaku, a small branch of the Kichwa tribe, warning them that the armed forces were prepared to violently enforce ConocoPhillips' rights to drill (Amazon Watch). This action does not bode well for any sort of indigenous conservation movement. As long as it proves beneficial to the country's economic status, it appears that the indigenous tribes will have very little chance of opposing big oil in any significant way. The Achuar, however, refused to back down and have stated that they will continue to protest big oil's presence on their land despite the threats issued by the militia (Amazon Watch). This stance has certainly benefited the Achuar, as it gained them some notoriety with the global conservation movement, and made them more visible to environmental organizations.

In fact, the Achuar, with help from these environmental groups, successfully devised a way for the tribe to remain on their land while still benefiting economically. Much as the Cofan and the Huaorani have done, the Achuar became closely involved in the construction of Kapawi, an ecotourism area, which they now help

to run (Wood 14-15). As a result, the Achuar have eliminated the need to turn to big oil for an income, and so can continue to live traditionally and sustainably. Conservationists have every reason to hope for their continued aid against ConocoPhillips and all other oil companies.

In short, the Cofan, the Huaorani and the Achuar have managed to achieve at least some of their environmental goals. However, the tribes have had to fight an uphill battle in order to do so, largely because they lack the political power to truly influence the decisions of the Ecuadorian government. Future involvement in the conservation movement by native tribes could greatly benefit, not only the environment, but also the people themselves. However, in order for this to occur, the tribes must have the political power to advocate their causes in an effective way. As it stands now, the government already grants the indigenous people some of the rights they would need to do so. For instance, by Ecuadorian law, the native people have the right to preserve their culture, and also to protect the environment in which they live. Even more dramatically, they have the right to participate in any decisions made concerning natural resources found on their land (Base de Datos Políticos de las Américas). Unfortunately, as witnessed by the Cofan, Huaorani and Achuar, the government does not enforce those rights. Moreover, in regards to oil companies, the Ecuadorian constitution effectively contradicts itself, as the native people cannot legally forbid oil drilling. Oil companies must consult the tribes before exploiting their land, but they need not actually seek their approval (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor). This seems a contradiction in terms, as the right to be included in decisions made regarding their land should allow native people to refuse oil companies access to that land. Essentially, the rights provided to them by the Ecuadorian government are simply insufficient, and so the constitution must be amended. For the native people to be able to speak out for any cause, environmental or otherwise, they must be granted a higher political standing within the country.

However, the push to involve indigenous people in modern conservation efforts must go beyond simply granting the tribes a

political voice. Clearly there has been some movement towards a sense of environmental stewardship, but the native people of Ecuador will need help in order to further such efforts. In order to ensure that the tribes receive this help, their needs must be examined from a number of different directions. First of all, indigenous people should be included in any decisions made concerning their land, or their tribe. Additionally, native land claims should be solidified in order to ensure that they have a vested interest in conservation. The economic status of the tribes must also receive consideration, and, as with any environmental or human rights case, the native people of Ecuador need to raise global awareness for their cause.

To begin with, conservation decisions concerning tribal areas should include those tribes, not only because people live on that land, but also because their experience with the local environments could greatly impact those decisions. In fact, by excluding them, the environmental movement could very easily cheat itself out of a great deal of knowledge and support (Schwartzman et al. 1352). However, to date, the conservation movement has not been successful at including the native people. In fact, many tribes have lost their land in the formation of ecological preserves, and so object to the conservation movement on principal. Essentially, environmental groups made the decision to set aside the land without considering the people who depended on that land for their survival (Roos and van Renterghem 54). These tribes lost their homes and had to look elsewhere for food and income, and as a result, the people drifted away from their lands, both literally and metaphorically.

Unfortunately, because of their desperation and their resentment towards the environmental movement, these displaced native communities often turn towards environmental exploitation. In so doing, the tribes essentially grant outside timber and oil companies even greater access to what little land they have left (Wood 12). As a result everyone suffers. However, the benefits would be considerable should environmentalists begin to involve native communities in the process of creating environmental reserves. To begin with, the ecotourism associated with these wilderness areas would positively impact native communities, as it could provide the economic

means of maintaining a more traditional way of life (Wood 12). Additionally, environmentalists would gain dedicated allies in the protection of these preserves. Just as the Cofan, the Huaorani and the Achuar protected their homes, so too would tribes living within ecological reserves defend their surroundings. With oil companies pressuring the government for access to wilderness areas, a large group of people loudly opposing such action could do much to protect the reserve.

Additionally, along with consideration regarding land use, the Ecuadorian government and the global conservation movement must also take into account the environmental efforts already being made by indigenous people. As witnessed by the Cofan, the Huaorani, and the Achuar, native tribes have already taken a number of steps towards preserving the areas in which they live (Schwartzman et al. 1353). The self-initiated organizations created by these tribes help native people to advocate their rights, and to forward their own environmental agenda with minimal outside aid. Yet, in spite of these things, such organizations receive very little recognition for their achievements (Schwartzman et al. 1355). These groups must be acknowledged in order to ensure their continued involvement in the Ecuadorian conservation movement.

However, even if native communities received consideration and recognition, they would still need outside aid before they could actually further their environmental agenda. Specifically, the tribes need economic support in order to successfully oppose activities such as logging and oil drilling. Native groups, even those still living on their tribal land, often have no choice but to become involved in environmental exploitation simply to make the money they need to survive (Coomes and Barham 183). These tribes will need economic support in order to break away from these practices. However, conservationists cannot simply feed the tribes money and supplies. Indigenous people must be able to make enough money to support themselves, without becoming dependant either on the non-sustainable use of the environment, or on an outside charity. To date, a few programs exist to help the tribes do precisely this. For instance, a program known as Cultural Survival makes money by selling crops

planted and harvested sustainably by native people in the Amazon. This organization purchases the crops directly from the farmers, thus insuring that the money remains within the tribe (Johnson 67). This system meets the needs of the native people well, as they can both live sustainably on their land and turn a profit while doing so. Of course, many tribes do not have sufficient land to engage in sustainable farming, and so programs like Cultural Survival will not work for all native communities (Bebbington et al. 189). Further options must be explored, but the fact remains that some progress has been made. Moreover, if the Ecuadorian government grants more native communities ownership of their tribal land, such practices would become much easier and, hopefully, more common.

In fact, the solidification of indigenous land claims may well be the most important step to ensuring the native tribes' support for conservation. As previously discussed, granting the native people ownership of their tribal territory will hopefully lead them to feel responsible for that territory. It will also hopefully motivate them to continue looking for ways to protect their land, instead of simply relying on already established techniques (Winterhalder and Lu 1362). Having a vested interest in the state of the land would optimistically lead native people to be creative and decisive in their conservation methods.

In addition to motivating conservation on the part of the tribes themselves, property rights to tribal land would also allow native communities to protect their homes against settlers and other outside groups. Currently, native tribes cannot prevent the intrusion of outside colonists, or, for that matter, logging or oil companies. Should they gain ownership of tribal land, however, they will be able to do so (Coomes and Barham 186). This would greatly benefit the environment as such external groups seldom have the best interest of the land at heart. However, the ability to repel trespassers would also benefit the tribes, as they themselves often suffer from such outside incursions. The world needs to be aware of what frequently happens to native people when logging or oil companies come on to their land. Often these companies treat the tribes with hostility, or even violence (Coomes and Barham 180). This

simply cannot continue. The environment, and the people living in that environment, all suffer when this occurs, and the Ecuadorian government has a responsibility to provide the native communities with a way to protect themselves, and their tribal land.

In conclusion, a number of things can clearly be seen about indigenous involvement in the Ecuadorian conservation movement. First of all, pre-Columbian tribal practices should be closely examined, as they have the potential to greatly contribute to the environmental field. Conservationists should also recognize the modern attitudes of the native people themselves, to better understand their environmental viewpoints. Moreover, tribes that have made special contributions to the movement should also receive recognition for their efforts in the hopes that they will continue to be involved in the future. Native communities must also receive careful consideration, along with the means to support themselves economically and further their environmental and political agendas.

However, these things will not be easy to accomplish. The native people of Ecuador face terrible poverty, and, although some tribes have managed to rise above it, the general indigenous population still lives in cripplingly poor circumstances. Travelers in the country cannot help but see the extreme difficulty these people face, from beggars in the streets of big cities, to the native people living on the fringes of the countryside with very little in the way of food and almost nothing in the way of health care. These people must be given the opportunity to live sustainably on land that they own. Moreover, they need to receive the political power to protect that land, and to express the needs of their communities. It certainly seems that the native people are prepared to fight for these rights, with anything and everything they have. From protests in the streets of Quito, to repeatedly bringing their case before the Ecuadorian government, the native tribes have actively worked to change their situation. Opposition from the government has not made this struggle easy, but with further support the indigenous population of Ecuador may eventually be successful. The conservation movement should make every effort to help these people, not only because the native tribes deserve such aid as citizens of the

world, but also because they stand to become a strong voice for the environmental cause. The environment in Ecuador, the conservation movement, and the native people themselves all stand to benefit tremendously should the tribes decide to collaborate with environmentalists. It will take some work from all involved, but with so much to gain, and so very much to lose, the environmental community simply cannot afford to allow the native people of Ecuador to fall by the wayside.

Finally, to illustrate this point, high up in the Andes, almost beyond the level where the clouds begin, a small, wind stunted tree grows. The tree itself is very old, with gnarled branches every bit as sinewy and polished as the hands of someone who has worked the land for time out of mind. The Oltovolaño people consider the tree, and the land around it, to be sacred. The spot plays a significant role in their solstice rituals, and the bones of children who died before baptism have for centuries found their place amongst the quiet roots. The place seems emptied of sound, nothing but the air, and the dry rattle of old leaves parched by the cold wind. Off on a distant hill, a cell phone tower grows up from the thin, rocky soil. The company responsible for the tower had every intention of building it in the very spot held by the ancient, sacred tree. But the Oltovolaños protested and, working with environmentalists, managed to have the hill, the tree, and some of the surrounding land set aside as wilderness preserve, never to be developed. So the hill, sacred to the people, remains free of development, and the surrounding area, sacred in its own way to environmentalists, receives protection. The tree itself continues where it has always stood, bearing silent witness to the successes of past collaboration, and reminding us of hopeful future partnerships.

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Critical Boundary
Composite Digital Image
from two Silver Gelatin Prints

Darby Hewes

Critical Boundary

Darby Hewes

Often we find ourselves faced with walking a fine line between what we believe and what we are expected to believe. We are confused and conflicted by the information provided and yet are expected to take a stand. This is evident in my photo manipulation of the Chesapeake Bay, *Critical Boundary*. Although this image shows both the rural and industrial aspects of the Chesapeake Bay, it is more widely a statement about protecting the environment, especially our water supply, which is at once the most abundant resource and also the most threatened. When does this boundary become critical, and have we already crossed it?

When John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay over four hundred years ago, he wrote of the vast resource of the bay and the abundance of wildlife, birds, oysters and fish. Today, we are struggling to preserve what is left of this formerly abundant resource. Here we must take a stand between the ever-expanding human impact on our environment and the opinions on how to minimize it or even to return to an earlier and historically "pure" period before "human advancement." The debate rages on while the impact to our environment continues at alarming rates. It brings into play the debate on what is advancement and progress, what are the consequences, and when is the point of no return?

This black and white digital image expands this issue by exaggerating the line between the natural waterfront of the Eastern Shore and the industrial waterfront of Baltimore. The grays are undulating in the reflections in the water, both dark and light, much like the political debates over what is good for the Bay, what is not, and what we should do about it. It is obvious and yet hidden behind the depths of the information; the good and the bad are written, researched and distributed by the experts and concerned parties. Ask anyone, and you'll hear that saving the Bay is a great thing to do. On the other hand, ask people if they want technological

progress they will also respond, "Technological advancement is a great thing to have." The result is an ever-expanding debate on the gray areas in between. Thus, I offer this one statement along with my image, "Are we asking the wrong questions?"

Theory of Personality

Derek Trott

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, psychology was rapidly emerging as a subject more worthy of study than ever before. Leading the charge in personality theories was Sigmund Freud. Although many disagreed with Freud's ideas, the works he composed laid the foundation for psychologists such as Erikson, Skinner, Bandura, Rogers and others. These pioneers of the field would develop their own theories of personality, a speculative view of why we behave the way we do. With minimal consideration to biology and established psychological laws, psychologists implanted their own life experiences and ideas from colleagues to compose their own theories of personality. This essay attempts to explore the creative side of psychology, fusing ideas of the author and several psychologists together.

Personality determines how we act in given situations, creates a diverse yet unified world and makes us who we are. Personality could be defined as the manner in which the conscious mind acts upon the subconscious instincts, and the cognitive effects it has on the outcome within our conscious mind. This particular theory incorporates ideas from Darwin, Freud, Jung, Adler, and the author. Before this particular theory was devised, the psychoanalytic

theories were studied and small segments of the theories were used. In a few instances, a given topic is completely consistent with the original view of the psychologist that created it.

The conscious, preconscious, and unconscious make up our construct of mind. This construct of mind is similar to Freud's model, but the focus is on the conscious, not unconscious mind. There are six stages of development: infancy, childhood, pubertal, early adulthood, middle adulthood, and elderly. All of the stages of development are essential to our own personality characteristics and how we act upon our instincts. The basic instincts that humans are born with are competition, sex, and sociality. Without these instincts, mankind cannot exist in harmony. Within each instinct there are sub-categories of emotions and of how the instincts evoke those particular emotions. The way in which we react to our instincts shapes our individual personality and creates a world where everyone reacts slightly differently to conscious stimuli.

Basic Construct of Mind

The constructs of the mind consist of the conscious mind, the preconscious mind, and the unconscious mind. This particular theory takes ideas from both Freud and Jung and combines them to create a new concept.

The conscious is the first of the three constructs of the mind. The conscious is the body's and mind's interaction to the outside world (Allen, 2005). At birth, the conscious is not available and will not become accessible until childhood. How others identify our individual personality will be due to the conscious mind repressing or allowing instincts from the unconscious to be carried out. Without the conscious mind humans will act only on the instincts created in the unconscious, and chaos may ensue. Although all of our sensory input goes into the conscious mind, our thoughts are projected from both the preconscious and unconscious. The emotions that we show or hide all reside within the conscious mind. Often we will hide our true emotions to prevent hostile interaction within a social group. It is this hiding of emotion that keeps us from constantly provoking one another. Anger is within human nature;

however, we must determine the battles in which expressing anger is beneficial or harmful. The need to avoid pointless conflict is why we repress feelings of how we truly feel about someone or a group of people. If this repression carries on for too long, the individual will be likely to form an anger complex, become neurotic, or lash out against society (Allen).

Preconscious thoughts have direct interaction with the conscious and indirect interaction with the unconscious (Heffner, 2002). Not only does the preconscious retrieve information from the conscious, but it also makes up short- and long-term memory. Unlike our conscious mind, we are not directly aware of the thoughts in the preconscious. If the conscious mind looks for these thoughts, they are readily available. Sometimes the conscious mind will recognize a preconscious thought or memory, recall it from the subconscious, leading to the déjà vu effect. The mind is always aware of names of individuals you have met, places you have been, and other past interactions, although it is not readily used. Once reminded of an interaction, we become aware of the interaction. The indirect interaction between the preconscious and unconscious are projected without us knowing. Instinct reactions can present themselves in the preconscious mind, and if not, they are repressed. When instincts are accessed by the conscious mind, these impulses will be acted upon.

The unconscious plays a key role in human instincts. Since the conscious mind is so powerful, however, the unconscious mind rarely gets completely satisfied. In the unconscious mind, all of the instincts of human nature are found. Why these instincts are so vital to our existence will be discussed in-depth later in the paper. This aspect of our mind cannot be regularly accessed; however the unconscious can project its ideas through the preconscious to be utilized by the conscious. The unconscious mind is not too important in our day-to-day function, but in times of turmoil, it can overpower the conscious. When the threat of death is seemingly unavoidable, primal instincts will power themselves, and essentially determine how we react and if we survive.

Stages of Development

The stages of development are similar to those suggested by Jung. There is a fluctuation in the transition of ages, since a particular individual may lag behind in a given stage or another individual may accelerate through a stage and enter the next one.

Infancy is the first stage of development. This stage lasts from the moment of birth until three years of age. Humans are helpless for a significant amount of time after birth and are completely at the will of the caregiver. Here a child is completely self-centered in hopes of getting enough nourishment to efficiently continue to the next stage. It appears that during this stage minimal energy is focused on mental development of the conscious. This lack of developed conscious mind is clearly evident in infants' awareness of the world. When their eyes are covered and then uncovered it appears as if they just had an epiphany, seeing the world for the first time. They also don't initially realize that their hand belongs to them, causing them to cry when their thumbs fall out of their mouth. The infant is completely unaware of its ability to move the thumb back into its mouth (McKillop). Later in the stage, awareness increases, as it is necessary to continue into the next stage. At this time of increasing awareness the conscious construct of the mind is starting to be created; however, it will not be fully accessed until the next stage. Lastly, basic development of motor skills and speech skills are developed by the end of the stage.

Childhood comes next in the stages of development. This stage generally takes place from the ages of three to nine. Here the conscious mind becomes accessible to the children and they become aware of consequences that will occur due to certain actions, whether positive or negative. Childhood is merely a stepping stone that is needed to enter the pubertal phase. Caregivers are still needed at this point for nourishment, but resentment towards them may develop. As the conscious becomes more and more aware to the given individuals, they begin to realize that they are in fact individuals, but identity has not yet been formed. Learning in this phase is of utmost importance. A broad general knowledge of how society operates and basic survival skills must be obtained. Unlike

Freud's theory, there is no Oedipus complex or penis envy. Rather, the individuals realize the sex differences and accept that they are not of the opposite sex. If this is not accepted it will likely lead to confusion within the lifetime, causing psychological damage in later stages, or lead to homosexuality.

The pubertal phase is the most important stage of development. Every stage before this is a stepping-stone to this life-changing phase. Assuming all went well in the earlier stages, it is in this phase that individuals will find a sense of self and begin to realize that their caregivers are soon unneeded. The physical changes that occur at this time allow for the body to reproduce. We become aware of this characteristic as our body rapidly changes due to hormone levels increasing. It is at this point of sexual maturity that we recognize our caregivers are no longer needed, and our seed needs to be passed on. Here social interactions are incredibly critical as intimate relations begin to form and those closest to us will shape our conscious identity. If individuals are neglected once inside the pubertal phase, their identity may be lost and their life taken down a negative path. Individuals that pursue this path are often found in gangs, involved heavily in drugs, and will have many other social complications. The subconscious may fight with changes in the body and the conscious social interactions. All of theses fights will be displayed in the poor motor coordination associated with puberty (stumbling, etc.) and dreams. It is in this phase that the conscious must suppress the unconscious; otherwise socially inappropriate actions will occur, isolating the individual from society. These inappropriate actions could be anything from trying to start a physical conflict, to flashing genitals.

Early adulthood ushers in the next group of changes within the life span. It is here that the individual has become completely self-dependent and broken away from the caregivers. Depending on the experience in the pubertal phase, the individual will either be of social nature or isolated. If the pubertal phase contained a plethora of social interaction with peers and elders, the individual will be of social nature. These individuals will be some of the best workers in the workforce, contributing to society as a whole. Those who

were isolated will begin to show resentment for society, most likely forming superficial intimate relationships or failing to pass along their genes. A career path is established early within the phase and will set the base for social standing of the individual. An individual will begin to better understand the higher order of thinking that is commonly associated with the human mind. Appreciation for the beauty of simple objects, such as flowers and water, will become prominent within the conscious mind. It is this appreciation for everything in life and the creation of a higher order of thinking that will allow for a successful elderly stage. Responsibilities begin to shift from individual achievements and conquest as families begin to develop. Households are established and now the individiuals have become caregivers themselves.

Middle adulthood occurs around the age of thirty-five and will last until the elderly phase initiates around sixty-five. This stage is the lull in life. At this point, a family should be established and the constructs of the mind are fully developed. The instincts should have been satisfied in the prior stage of early adulthood, and at this point in life, individuals are trying to sustain what they have already accomplished. Towards the end of the stage, they may begin to lose respect and power within the community as they near the elderly stage. Some anger or depression may come of this, as they soon realize that everything they have accomplished will soon come to an end. Neurotic behaviors may show themselves at some point during this phase when someone enters a "midlife crisis." If this crisis occurs it could set one up for disaster in the elderly phase when reflection of life is essential. Symptoms of this crisis include severe mood swings, severe depression, and high levels of anxiety. Women will experience the midlife crisis more commonly than men due to menopause and the hormonal effects it has. At this point, women are no longer able to reproduce and thus the fulfillment of the sex instinct is no longer possible. Nothing comes of this stage except for successfully caring for the children if they are not of age to set off in their own life endeavors.

Within the elderly stage there are minimal changes in the individual since it is a time for reflection. We reflect on our career

accomplishments in this stage and other life goals that we fulfilled. By this stage, we have lived a full life and must come to terms with what all life inevitably does, dies. At first there may be a presence of denial that death is unavoidable. Anger will be a common emotion, as having lived for so long, death seems impossible. It is because of this reflection that a sense of failure may appear. Due to this emotion, older individuals will generally appear cynical and bitter towards outward occurrences. If individuals within their conscious mind feel that they have lived a purposive life, they will be content with death coming. Also assuming their genes have been passed along, there will be no complications or aggression from the subconscious. Having accepted death, no more complications arise and the person will reach full serenity. To be completely content with one's life and welcome death with open arms is what all humans strive for. The lack of fear that this serenity brings allows us to maintain happiness and a sense of achievement when we finally die. It may seem counterintuitive that we would accept death because we can no longer function. The unconscious longs for death in this stage, especially if the instincts have been successfully filled.

Instincts

The unconscious mind holds three primal instincts that are essential to human survival. Competition can be broken into subcategories that explain why we experience blood lust (violence), depression, and despair. If sex, which is necessary to pass along our genes, is eliminated, it would end the human race. Sociality recognizes that the human race is weak and nothing without its fellow man. These ideas are loosely based around Eysenck's and Freud's ideas, but have been dramatically modified.

We are a competitive species that is always striving to be better than everyone else. This competitive nature, although positive for the individual, can lead to negative emotions associated with these instincts. Violence is the strongest of the emotions that is associated with the competitive nature of humans. Take for example Bandura's Bo-Bo Doll Experiments (Eysenck). In this experiment, a learned behavior was observed (hitting the dolls). There was

evidence to suggest that even when negative reinforcement was attached to the learned behavior, we will still act in a violent nature. In order to reach the top, often eliminating one's closest competitor is the best option. Should someone not be able to excel in a normal fashion, violence may stem in order to incapacitate the competitor. Depression and despair may arise if one does not excel in the social or economic world. Due to the competition instinct and the need to strive for excellence, not reaching the top will eventually overtake the unconscious. The lack of self-worth will project itself into the preconscious, which will eventually consume it until recognized by the conscious. Once the conscious has become aware of this failure, the person will become depressed and will feel hopeless, having failed to excel.

Sex is the most important of the instincts because without the need to procreate, the human race is doomed. Sex itself is not sought after as a pleasurable experience by the unconscious. The unconscious sees sex as our ultimate goal, passing along our genes. Those who excelled in respect to the competition instinct are those who are ideal to mate with. The conscious mind interprets sex as a pleasurable experience, a relief of tension or anxiety (Allen). In this respect, the unconscious and conscious mind conflict. However, the unconscious mind's need to pass along genes overtakes the conscious mind's want for sex as a pleasure activity. In every sexual act, an individual may not be aware of the desire to pass along the seed, but it exists. The sex instinct could be described simply as the need to procreate and die.

The last of the instincts is sociality. Mankind is far too weak as an individual to survive, so the unconscious drives us to relate and support our fellow man for survival. But, this closeness and need for one another can create clashes within the society. We will often come together in order to reach a common goal. An example of this is when our ancestors hunted in groups. Once close together, our competitive instinct interferes and causes conflict among the group. This conflict may be physical or verbal, but confrontation is unavoidable. Once this confrontation occurs, we will branch away from one another, attempting to be alone. Once alone, we quickly

realize that we will soon die if not in the safety of a group and will yet again return to the group. This phenomenon is Freud's concept of the porcupine complex (Allen). The emotions that are closely related to this instinct reside in our conscious mind and are those of collectiveness and empathy. Together they allow us to feel for our fellow man and to attempt to better society as a whole. Consciously, we feel bad for those who are worse off then ourselves and thus try to improve their conditions. Our unconscious sees this empathetic notion towards our fellow man as a way to better improve our own social living. If the strength of the group is higher and there is less conflict, we ourselves will have a better chance to excel. This can lead to complications because it may create a never-ending cycle of attempting to better our living conditions, ultimately leading to our own neuroticism or demise. No matter how important individuals are, they cannot survive without society.

Personality Types

There are three types of individual personalities in which we can categorize everyone within the population. These personality types are essentially how we respond to the unconscious instincts. We are aware of these particular traits in our conscious mind, by the interpretation of ourselves and how others view us. The three personality types are instinct aggressive, instinct passive and instinct avoidant.

The instinct aggressive personality types are those within our society who emerge as CEOs and other prestigious jobholders in the society. These individuals act strongly upon their instincts and are extremely goal driven. Not reaching the top mentally tears these individuals apart. Success is measurable and they keep tally of every little thing within their lives. Natural leaders, they take charge whenever in a group. If two instinct aggressive types must work together it can often be very difficult because of their strong opinions and stubborn ways. These people can work effectively alone but have an ability to delegate better than the other two personality types. Frequently, the instinct aggressive types will become anxious or paranoid that their high position will be overthrown. Despite these feelings it is rare that this paranoia or anxiousness

leads to a mental illness. In a few cases it leads to neurotic behavior because of the stress that such a lifestyle creates (Saklofske & Zeidner 1995). These individuals tend to fulfill most of the instinct drives throughout their life. Therefore, when in the elderly stage of life, their reflection on life will be high, accepting death with less anger and denial than the other personality types. The instinct aggressive may be called an extravert personality by some people. According to Eysenck (1967), extraverts have better reaction times and are better adapted for social situations. This plays a key role in their leadership ability. Instinct aggressive types are not likely to be loyal partners in intimate relationships due to their need to fulfill the sex instinct and pass along their seed with as many other instinct aggressive types as possible.

Next are the instinct passive personality types. These individuals make very loyal followers and need an instinct aggressive to lead them down the proper path. Instinct passive types are not leaders and must have duties delegated to them. If society was made up of only the passive types, nothing would be achieved. They make loyal partners in intimate relationships and sometimes are overly trusting of everyone they meet. They are goal-driven individuals, but failure is common to them because they compete with the instinct aggressive. The fulfillment of goals is not essential to the existence of the instinct passive type, although if many are met within the lifetime there is less anger in the elderly stage. They have difficulty accepting death and many other aspects of life that are out of their hands. The passive types are rather calm, loyal, humble, friendly individuals who seek out the greater good in society and often see the positive side of life.

The last of the three personality types is the instinct avoidant type. These people avoid society and are social outcasts. We would classify these people as true introverts, highly susceptible to mental illness since they never can identify with any of the other two instinct types. Low self-worth, depression, and anxiety consume the mind of these personality types. Instinct avoidant types have extreme difficulty developing intimate relationships and never successfully fulfill the three instincts that lie in the unconscious.

They make poor followers and poor leaders; the avoidant types are destined to a life of social outcasting, depression, and failure. When in the elderly stage of development, they realize that they have achieved nothing within their lifetime and have resentment towards the other personality types. Death to these people is the final blow to the lackluster life that they have lived.

Preconscious Interpretations and Conflict

There are several aspects of the personality and thought process over which we have no power. Due to the unconscious instincts, our minds are destined to act and think in a particular way despite the different types of personality.

We would like to believe that we have freedom of will, to do as we wish with no regards for the consequences. Sadly, every action within the lifespan is in some way determined before that particular action occurs. Due to our natural born instincts, we are predisposed to act a particular way in given situations. For most of us, our conscious mind believes that it has free will, but within the enclosure of society and the unconscious mind, everything is predetermined. Those who accept that everything within their life is out of their hands are those who are faithful to religion. They have accepted that once death has come they will meet their creator. This faith that a higher power has determined everything within their lifespan will guide them through times of turmoil.

Our environment plays a paramount role in how we will react to our unconscious instincts. It is in our environment that the proper way to act upon these instincts is discussed and reinforced. Genetics allow for our basic instincts to be passed along, but it is the learning that occurs in the environment that prevents us from destroying our societies. Learning how to react when confronted with an anxiety-producing situation is more beneficial than relying on instincts. Also, learning from mistakes is essential to prevent future conflict within one's life. Even mice are capable of this. In an experiment, mice were placed in a box where one half was lit and the other half was dark. The mice naturally preferred the dark side, but it produced an electric shock when the mice entered. Quickly,

they avoided the dark side and showed preference for the light side. Anxiety was evident in the mice, but the ability to ignore their instincts prevented them from being shocked (Meyer, 2005).

Mankind studies the past in order to make leaps and bounds in the present and future. Our instincts dictate the present behavior, but in our conscious mind we must focus on the past for the purpose of improving society. As stated earlier, a single man cannot survive without the help of his fellow man. Looking at the past, mankind can see how and where other societies have failed and thus crumbled. By analyzing that, mankind can strive to make the present better than previous societies. Religious freedom was one of the original purposes of expansion into the new world. Once colonized, the inhabitants realized that in order to make a better society they must never establish a system similar to those established in Europe (suppressing the freedoms of the individual). When the past way of life was analyzed, the best possible plan for the present and future was created.

We are motivated by only a small, rather than a large, number of drives. Essentially these motives are the unconscious instincts of competition, sex, and sociality that were discussed earlier. If people were to focus on a wide array of motives they would become distracted and never accomplish their particular goals. This distraction would lead to conflict on all cognitive levels. It is because of this conflict that we are motivated by the three unconscious drives. Such a simple number of motivational constructs allows for a higher chance of fulfillment of the instincts.

The theory discussed covers a broad array of ideas and concepts within the field of psychology. It is possible that some of the subject matter discussed could be proven and some refuted. Thus personality theories will remain somewhat controversial within the field and beyond. However, the creative genius of young minds should continue to be exploited in composing conflicting works that will facilitate discussion for years to come.

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Diatom House
Fragilaria crotonensis

There are no worries in Control Group A.
Underneath a petri dish lid, they build
hexagonal chandeliers, glued silicon molecules
from the water, tapered window palaces,
glimmering light against green-blue.

Their homes are snowflakes
that they hide in, wagging their tendrils
at neighbors, leaving a gelatinous smear.
A few watch the cnidarian wars
of the coral polyps in the nearby tank –
the stinging cells that fling harpoons
as they electrify, wafting with the air pump

– happy to make crystalline figurines until
the eight-hundred day experiment ends.
They watch their fortresses observed,
then a toss hurls the glass civilization
into a cardboard box.

Alyse Bensel

El Niño Tímido
Color Photograph

Emily Pelland

El Niño Tímido

Emily Pelland

Capturing a single, alluring moment creatively has attracted me for many years. I enjoy preserving precious moments with loved ones, but nature has been the subject of my infatuation for its steadfast beauty. My ultimate goal is to create aesthetic, original, strange, provocative, and stunning photographs. A photograph possesses the power to bring the audience to a pause, to inhale the moment from the past and contemplate and allow unfamiliar thoughts to materialize, and exhale a realization of a new perspective.

I hope that I will one day be able to be an incredibly versatile photographer, rather than possessing a label such as "nature photographer" or "documentarian," but I am flexible and will thankfully accept the opportunities given to me.

This photo was taken on my second service event trip to La Paz, Costa Rica where my team and I stayed with families, learning the language, experiencing the culture and observing the contentment they have from being thankful for every blessing. We visited the two schools in the town, and we had a great deal of fun playing with the children when we were not painting the classrooms. All the children were extremely sweet and enjoyed playing with us. However, there was this shy little boy who preferred the solitude nearby, but he could not escape my camera!

"'tis a pageant To keep us in false gaze": The Act of Iconoclastic Self-Portraiture in Shakespeare's *Othello: The Moor of Venice*

Erin O'Hare

"It is the cause," the deteriorated Othello moans in the final scene of Shakespeare's *Othello: The Moor of Venice*. "...[It] is the cause, my soul;/ Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars,/ It is the cause" (5.2.1-3). "It" is the image of his wife Desdemona, her white skin "smooth as monumental alabaster," an image the Moor cannot bring himself to deface despite the fact that it has already destructed his own sense of self. It is the last scene in a tragedy that, through iconography (the creation of images), idolatry (a worship of image), and iconoclasm (destruction of image), explores "the disruptions, conflicts, and radical changes wrought by the Protestant Reformation."[1]

In the introduction to her book *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage*, Huston Diehl argues that:

> [by] instituting radical changes in the religious practices of the English people and destroying almost all the sacred symbols on which late medieval lay piety was centered, the Reformation disrupted and transformed established modes of perception and knowledge as well, affecting the way the English people viewed images, engaged in ritual practices, interpreted the physical world, and experienced theater.[2]

Prior to the Reformation, England's main form of theater had existed in the Catholic church, in the Mass, the Nativity and

Michelmas as well as other religious plays, into which entire villages poured their efforts. But upon the ascension of Queen Elizabeth I, England's religion became Protestantism, and these plays, considered idolatrous like religious images, were ordered destroyed.[3] With her mandated iconoclasm that touched a number of aspects of English life, Elizabeth succeeded in destroying a certain English identity and constructed another, one full of paradox. And this play comes at the end of Elizabeth's reign, where James, a Scottish king, would come to the throne and once again re-work and re-define English identity. Early modern tragedy does the same, destructing a certain identity that had been invested in this culture of religious theater while constructing another within the confines of antitheater, and further, it is what *Othello's* villain Iago does in the revenge plot that he creates within the play which Shakespeare's audience comes to observe.

Shakespeare uses *Othello* to rehearse the fears of the image rooted in the conflict between the power of the word and that of the image which Elizabeth created in her reign. As a queen who ordered the destruction of religious images and the abolition of Catholic theatricality (the Mass and religious plays) in 1559,[4] she sought to likewise abolish the dangerous, idolatrous gaze that so concerned Protestants and evoke the terrific fear in the image while at once emphasizing truth in word, in the sermon. Remaining true to her faith, Elizabeth chose to demonstrate her power through word, as evident in her speech "Against the Spanish Armada," given in 1588:

> My loving people, we have been persuaded by some, that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people…I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England, too…I myself will take up arms….[5]

Elizabeth here not only speaks of persuasion, but she persuades through her speech, through the discussion of her image. She insists herself strong as a man, as a king, though claiming she is almost

hindered by her womanhood, but that her love for England will overcome her sex. And yet, with her portraits, she draws not on her kingly aspects, but upon her femininity as a means of persuasion. In the *Armada Portrait* (fig. 1) for example, her skin is pale, flawless, and echoes her constructed image as Virgin Queen. Her fair complexion and light strawberry hair became the standard of early modern beauty, and the queen is always painted as striking, her costumes always impossibly elaborate. If nothing else, the intricate detail catches and perplexes the eye. Her hand rests on the globe and demands her command, not only of England but of Europe, even the entire world. Elizabeth used these carefully developed iconographic silent spectacles to win the attention and the gaze of eyes everywhere, thus instructing her people of reliance upon the image in conjunction with the word.

Figure 1. *The Armada Portrait*. c. 1588.

Perhaps one cannot criticize her love for the image so harshly, as it is not a Virgin and Christ she commissions, not an altarpiece or a rood, but her own portrait; the Catholic sense of devotional image, of idolatry and thus the worship of a false god, would appear to be absent. But it is only so to the naïve eye. Elizabeth uses these portraits as tools of political rather than religious persuasion, but it is nonetheless persuasion reliant upon an idolatrous gaze.

Speech and picture, though, cannot be separated in the theater that flourished during her reign. Shakespeare certainly mimics Elizabeth in that he commands the power of visuality, of the image

as he does the word. He develops this even further in his use of Iago, a character who uses word and image in combination to affect the other characters in the play, to construct and thereby deconstruct identities, ultimately functioning in perverse demonstration of the Protestant playwright. And theater would not exist without word and image alike: "both the theater and the visual arts in this period come to understand their own discourses and practices; the two media become interrelated as they attempt to define and promote themselves"[6] on the early modern London stage.

In his essay "Making Pictures Speak: Renaissance Art, Elizabethan Literature, Modern Scholarship," Leonard Barkan describes the flourish of theater in Elizabethan England, unique in that theater did not possess quite the same power in other contemporary societies, such as Italy and Germany, two cultures who participated in Renaissances more firmly grounded in "high art," such as painting and etching. High art in early modern England was conceived in the form of miniature or traditional portraiture, with the English court hiring portraitists from other European countries, namely Italy and even the Netherlands, to paint the monarchy and other members of the court. The art of the miniature, though, was developed by English artists; the detailed miniature portraits were kept in decorative lockets and frames, and were subsequently quite expensive. Both forms were reserved for the aristocracy;[7] they were art forms to which the lower classes had little to no access. The theater, though, was a marriage of the visual and the spoken; a varied entertaining culture where there was still a hint of the identity the people once had. Early modern drama was not the theater influenced by the spectacle of the Catholic Mass, but it remained a moving presentation of word and image on the stage, where all could participate in the "trauma of reform"[8] rather than the comfort and decorative pleasure of courtly high art.

Shakespeare's dramatic works possess an "awareness that the viewer's eye might be arrested by the mechanisms of pictorial representation—rather than just by the thing ultimately represented" and are thus unusual.[9] As both a dramatist and as a member of

Elizabethan culture, Shakespeare is wholly aware of the necessary function of accessible word and image together on his diverse audience. He uses other, more visual cultures in a number of his plays to explore the paradox of word/image present in Elizabethan society, to validate and further appropriate the importance of image juxtaposed with, and in conflict with, the importance of the word, as he does quite beautifully in *Othello*.

Shakespeare's choice to set this play in Venice is specific. It is true that much of the action of *Othello* takes place in Cyprus, but that the majority of the characters are Venetian is what reigns important. Venice is a place poised between water and sky, full of palaces built, essentially, "on nothing,"[10] and "scarcely any...are unmoved by her special charm, there are some who are entirely subdued by it, to whom the sight of her is a continual enchantment, and who never get beyond the sense of something miraculous, the rapture of the first vision."[11] The Venetians in *Othello* are governed by the rapture of vision. They define themselves and others through appearance, by how they are visually constructed, and in setting the tragedy in Venice, Shakespeare is better poised to capture his characters and thereby his audience in "the rapture of the first vision" than he would were the play set in England, thus better employing the rhetoric of Protestant theater. The character of Othello especially becomes captivated by the first vision of Venice and its magic, by Desdemona. And, he grows more enraptured throughout the play's five acts that lead to that final iconoclastic scene where Othello bemoans the image's power, and the audience, having seen a play acted within the play they have watched, does the same.

Othello "[explores] Protestant-induced fears that plays seduce and corrupt their audiences,"[12] says Diehl. Protestant pictures seek to do the same, in a measure of reform for the viewer. In order to do so, the theater must evoke a sort of self-awareness within the audience. In his essay "The Relationship Between German and Venetian Painting in the Late Quattrocento and Early Cinquecento," Terisio Pignatti establishes a connection between the ideas present in German Protestant pictures and Venetian painting. The awareness of audience, of viewer, and its necessity

in the function of a visual work of art (both two-dimensional and theatrical) is most crucial to the understanding of the word/image paradox in *Othello*, and is crucial to the works of Hans Baldung Grien, a German who forcefully and effectively demonstrates the Protestant rhetorical idea of self-awareness in his 1531 oil painting of *Adam and Eve* (fig. 2). Upon first glance, the image is lovely and soft. The pale figures are brought to the edge of the picture by the dark background and interact with the deep color through Eve's near embrace of the twisted tree trunk. The figures bend in tandem in their position, their bodies flow into one, and we as viewers of the picture are attracted to their apparent calm and are further enticed by the nude forms. A gaze is established with the painting as eyes move over its sections, which intensifies upon eye contact with Adam. Upon this, viewer becomes part of the sin that the subjects commit; one is drawn into the sin, and participates in it along with the picture's subjects.

Figure 2. Hans Baldung Grien. *Adam and Eve*. Oil on panel. 1531.

This is where and why Protestants deem the image dangerous. In the provocation of the erotic (and perhaps this is an extreme example, but a good one indeed), of the visually enticing, it is one's tendency to become enthralled by the image, to worship it as a false god, thereby committing idolatry. This gaze, established with a hanging picture, with a tableau on the stage, both violated and violating, is then turned inward, as something in oneself is realized; an awareness of sin is developed and one repents in shame. Such a function is present in Venetian work as well, as demonstrated in Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (fig. 3). The established gaze is what makes the imagery of drama so effective; it is made stronger still by the use of poetry, of word,

in addition to this image. In *Othello*, the setting of Venice allows for such a connection between this German idea and Elizabethan England to be drawn, and is wholly important to the idea of *Othello*, through its presentation of play within play, by framing a drama for the audience to observe rather than directly interact with, as examining the interplay between text and image in the culture before which it was staged. *Othello* effectively rehearses iconography, idolatry, and iconoclasm before the audience's very eyes and pours it into their ears, where it trickles down into their hearts after seeping into their minds.

Figure 3. Titian. *Venus of Urbino*. Oil on canvas. 1538.

Othello, a man of high moral and military status, but of exotic appearance, is objectified by the image-conscious Venetians. Brabantio is entirely enthralled and enraged by Othello's appearance, just as he is obsessed with the good image of his own "tender, fair, and happy" (1.2.66) daughter. Iago informs him "... an old black ram/ Is tupping your white ewe" (1.2.98-99), that Desdemona "and the Moor are [now] making the beast /with two backs" (1.2.116); Iago here supplies Brabantio with the image of Desdemona and Othello engaging in sin, and horrified by the image, Brabantio flies into a fury and blames Othello, the black Moor, for enchanting Desdemona. He calls for light (1.2.144), for a torch to illuminate the midnight disturbance, but here the Italian patriarch thinks to the "light" image of his lovely daughter. He then accuses Othello of thievery, of enchanting Desdemona, and it is Othello's dark skin, his image, which provokes such anger within Brabantio.

Iago is a talented Venetian image-maker, an iconographer to the very core. With words he creates the image of Othello and Desdemona for Brabantio and continues to do so throughout the play. Iago also creates a visage for himself, one that establishes him as "honest Iago" before the first word of the play is spoken. The audience quickly realizes that Iago's honest reputation is not one of truth, but a deceitful one the other characters are only gradually made aware of, as they are effectively duped of his image by his clever poesy and thus allow him to perpetuate his iconic self. Because Iago is such an iconographer, a creator of images, because he has also mastered speech and weaves the two together throughout *Othello,* he must also be considered playwright. Just as he has created one for himself, Iago uses his language to create images for others, for Cassio and Desdemona especially, and uses them to destruct Othello's identity.

First Iago manipulates Roderigo in order to frame a new image for Cassio, and soils the young lieutenant's good name before once more relating his script to the entire audience of *Othello* (2.1.286-312), which reminds them once more that they watch the creation of a drama; they do not participate themselves. Iago gives evidence of his status of playwright (2.1.286-312), and executes his first dramatic scene in Act 2, Scene 3, where Othello has trusted Cassio, newly named lieutenant, with the watch. When Othello exits with his lovely new bride, Iago comments on Desdemona and provokes Cassio to do the same (2.3.13-28). In order for Cassio to become actor in Iago's drama, he must speak of Desdemona. This way, Iago will have a verbal source of the "love" between them, as Cassio replies as Iago hopes him to and says that she has "an inviting eye" (2.3.24), that "she is indeed perfection" (2.3.28), and Iago will thus only need to provide an image to support his "honest" word and propel forth his revenge plot.

The villain even further establishes his position as dramatist in the reconstruction of Cassio by playing Bacchus[13] to the lieutenant, not only because he encourages him to indulge in alcoholic drink, but through the creation of drama into which Iago fully enthralls and employs him. Iago has captured Cassio's word, and now he will capture and destruct his image, only to recreate it differently;

Iago destructs an identity in order to create another. Iago employs Roderigo to chase and provoke the drunken Cassio, flare his temper, and thus cause a scene before the others, a scene which the characters are unaware of; they take it for a true happening rather than a crafted one. The audience, though, is aware of Iago's craft and relate to this destruction and reconstruction of images, for it is what they see of themselves as provoked by their word and image-conscious queen. When Othello asks "Iago, who began't?" (2.3.217), he relies, as he does in the start (and as the Elizabethan people are told to do) on speech for the truth. However, Iago's visage masks truth, and in placing the blame on Cassio, strengthens his argument through its presentation in poetic form (2.3.220-246). Iago creates a scene, provokes the image in the mind of another, then supports it with poetic speech. Like Othello, Iago is a great storyteller. Like Shakespeare, he is a master dramatist, as he combines word and image to fool his characters into belief of his own spectacle, to convince Othello of Cassio's poor name, and thus Iago gains the ability to deconstruct both himself and others in the play.

In order to further his revenge play, Iago destructs Desdemona's pure image and creates her a new one as whore, and he does so before Othello's eyes and ears, dually poisoning the Moor. As James Calderwood notes in his essay "Speech and Self in *Othello*," Othello "believes not only in the word *honest* but in the honesty of words."[14] Iago understands that he must approach Othello through speech, as he does throughout the play, but in order for his own tragedy to work, in order for it to function as the drama he so desires, the villain playwright must use the image, too. And when surrounded by people rooted and raised in a visual culture, Iago has ample opportunity to do so, as he understands that his character-audience requires the visual in order to be affected fully. After all, as Barkan says, drama is nothing without *both* word and image, and Iago thus propels the tragedy he has begun by bombarding Othello (as any dramatist does his audience) with word and with image. "...[W]hat Iago knows and Othello does not," says Calderwood, "is that ocular proofs are no more transcendental and unmediated than verbal ones."[15]

Othello is entirely tricked by Iago's clever mask into relying on an untrue word, and Iago will "pour this pestilence into his

ear" (2.3.356), and "turn [Desdemona's] virtue into pitch,/ And out of her own goodness make the net/ That shall enmesh them all" (2.3.360-362). Iago first poisons Othello with dishonest word, but then uses the image as further proof in his first scene of sullying Desdemona's virtue. Othello does not understand that the image can be doubted, just as the word. This is reflected in Shakespeare's audience, as they, like Othello, feud with this paradox of word and image and struggle with which to accept as truth. But the audience departs from Othello and the other characters, for they are one step removed from the drama; they see the scenes played out before them, but this drama repels rather than enthralls. The audience is allowed self-reflection, allowed to see their own identities in the distorted mirror of theater that they look upon.

These images that Iago creates prove significant to the course of the play, as they are imperative to the scenes through which Iago creates his own drama. He must carefully craft his own characters in order to propel his revenge tragedy forward. Othello initially constructs himself through his speech, as it is powerful and strong—it is what wooed Desdemona so[16]—and his image is deemed unacceptable in Venetian society. But as the play progresses and Iago works to break down and transform Othello's true character in an act of iconoclasm, Othello becomes more reliant upon the image and neglects the importance of the word. Iago knows that the Venetian characters are visually dependent and that Othello clings to speech; through his creation of images and manipulation of word, Iago creates a drama that effectively combines both sides of the paradox and affects the others quite powerfully. The images of the characters, of Desdemona, Othello, Cassio, Iago, are constructed, and thus Iago can direct his revenge tragedy only veiled within that of Shakespeare's.

The characters in *Othello* become enraptured by, and come to believe in, the images that Iago creates for them. They are idolatrous and worship only false gods, which, as Protestantism warns against, as Iago's manipulation and craft proves, is dangerous. They are all servants to the image, Iago included, and they are, or they become, idolatrous. Desdemona, though said to have been wooed

by Othello's story (1.3.127-170), has somehow been swayed by his appearance: "I saw Othello's visage in his mind,/ And to his honors and his valiant parts/ Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate" (1.3.252-254). She not only hears his story, but the tale and his language create an image, "Othello's visage," for Desdemona, and she has consecrated herself to it. In this act of consecration, it is as if she makes the image a religious one, one deserving of worship. Later in the play, Iago says of Desdemona, "Her eye must be fed; and what delight shall she have to look on the devil?" (2.1.225-226), suggesting that her lust develops from sight, nothing more, something Emilia confirms just before Desdemona's death, when the maid says to her lady, "I would you had never seen him!" (4.3.18).

Cassio can also be said to worship Desdemona's image; it is what Iago needs him to do in order for the revenge drama to play out. Cassio must appear to worship Desdemona's image so that Iago can show this idolatry to Othello and provoke the mass destruction, the iconoclasm that happens in the final scene. The tragedy here is necessary to demonstrate the dangers of idolatry for the audience. Cassio and audience alike see Desdemona's beauty, but Cassio is the one who comments upon it. Her "description and wild fame;/ [Is] one that excels the quirks of blazoning pens,/ And in th'essential vesture of creation/ Does tire the [ingener]" (2.1. 62-65), says Cassio. Her beauty is too great to be properly rendered in words; her beauty cannot be accurately described, for it must be seen in order to be fully experienced. Cassio has seen it, and he calls her "the divine Desdemona" (2.1.72), for her beauty can bring sailors through tempests, and he thereby verbally assigns her Godly powers. Cassio worships her image; she is his false god and he is absolutely idolatrous. "She is indeed perfection" (2.3.28), he claims.

Desdemona's image must be a powerful one, for eventually, through Iago's breaking down of Othello's dependence upon the word and thus his identity, Othello grows idolatrous of his wife's image as well. He becomes enraptured in her appearance through Iago's prodding, as an audience would the image put before them by a (Catholic) playwright. His love, due to Iago's continual suggestion

and masterful iconography, depends upon Desdemona's image, on her appearance above all else.

As he does with Brabantio, Iago sets up the image of Cassio and Desdemona together for Othello. When Cassio wishes to apologize to Othello, to tell him the actual truth, Othello will not have it. Cassio then wishes to reach the Moor through the persuasive Desdemona: "My suit to her/ Is that she will to virtuous Desdemona/ Procure me some access" (3.1.34-36), Cassio says, when he requests Iago allow him to speak to Emilia. Cassio's line of "Procure me some access" is left ambiguous specifically so that Iago may manipulate it—"some" access: verbal? Physical? Surely Cassio intends verbal, but Iago here sees the visual, the physical. The image of the lieutenant and the Moor's wife together, which Iago sets up and plants in Othello's mind, is what takes over, for Othello believes in Iago's word, which creates a picture for Othello to imagine, of his wife and Cassio doing more than talking.

The playwright villain seizes this opportunity to create a scene involving Cassio and Desdemona, for which Othello will play invisible audience as he watches from behind a curtain. Iago first plants the seed of doubt and confirms to Othello that yes, Cassio and Desdemona were speaking, and, in his indecisiveness on what exactly they were doing, shakes Othello's trust (and patience) in the word. "'Tis not to make me jealious/...For she had eyes and chose me. No, Iago,/ I'll see before I doubt, when I doubt, prove;/ And on the proof, there is no more but this—" (3.3.183, 189-192). Here, Othello asks that Iago not provoke jealousy based on Desdemona's image of virtue; Othello attempts to reassure himself that Desdemona only has eyes for him, thereby identifying himself by his image rather than by his speech, and thus agrees with the power of image. "I'll see before I'll doubt," he then says, and confirms for Iago that word will not be enough proof of Desdemona's lack of virtue, that he will need to see it in order to doubt at all. Iago, then, makes sure he sees and thus doubts:

> I am glad of this, for now I shall have reason
> To show the love and duty that I bear you

With franker spirit; therefore (as I am bound)
Receive it from me. I speak not yet of proof.
Look to your wife, observe her well with Cassio,
Wear your eyes thus, not jealious or secure.
I would not have your free and noble nature,
Out of self-bounty, be abus'd; look to't.
I know our country disposition well:
In Venice they do let [God] see the pranks
They dare not show their husbands; their best conscience
Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown. (3.3.193-204)

The way in which Iago bombards Othello with word and image at once is wholly evident here. He uses visual language, such as "show," "proof," "look," "observe;" he speaks of how Othello should rely upon his eyes. And yet he "[speaks] not yet of proof," but he does through his poesy, and by insisting that the true meaning in the visual is kept hidden from all except God in Venice, suggests to Othello that perhaps nothing is as it seems.

He then tells Othello to "perceive him [Cassio] as his means./ Note if [Desdemona] strain his entertainment/ With any strong or vehement importunity;/ Much will be seen in that" (3.3.249-252), insisting that Othello see the "proof" for himself. Othello will be forced to see the proof, as he will hear nothing of their conversation from his place behind the curtain, and thus image, not word, will serve as his truth. But even before Iago puts this visual scene, this dumb show into play, he gives Othello more verbal "proof" of Desdemona and Cassio's apparent affair, again playing off his knowledge of Othello's dependence upon the word and his almost idolatrous worship of it. And at this point, Othello still thinks Iago to be honest, as only the audience is aware of Iago's dramatic manipulation. Iago tells Othello that Cassio calls Desdemona's name in his sleep:

In sleep I heard him say, "Sweet Desdemona,
Let us be wary, let us hide our loves";
And then, sir, would he gripe and wring my hand;
Cry, "O sweet creature!" then kiss me hard;
As if he pluck'd up kisses by the roots

> That grew upon my lips; [then] laid his leg
> [Over] my thigh, and [sigh'd], and [kiss'd], and then
> [Cried], "Cursed fate that gave thee to the Moor!"
> (3.3.414-426).

This is a scene that Iago has entirely imagined; he has but verbal proof, but it seems enough for Othello, as it is not only verbal but once again perpetuates the sinful image of Cassio and Desdemona that Iago has already presented to him. Just after this, Iago provides Othello with a concrete image this time: the handkerchief so crucial to Iago's drama. "She may be honest yet. Tell me but this/ Have you not sometimes seen a handkerchief/ Spotted with strawberries in your wive's hand?" (3.3.433-435), he asks, and reminds Othello of the handkerchief and its importance to Othello's marriage, of his love, and thus Desdemona's chastity. The handkerchief is the icon of their love, and Iago brings up this icon that Othello has so idolized, claiming with his "honest" word, "such a handkerchief/ (I am sure it was your wive's) did I to-day/ See Cassio wipe his beard with" (3.3.437-439). What Iago emphasizes to the now doubting Othello is that "It speaks against her with the other proofs" (3.3.441), and he thus implies that the ocular proof is not the only one Othello has, as it is not the only one Iago provides him with in this play (Iago's play), but now it is the only one Othello will require; it is the final scene Iago needs to write, and the other characters, in the destruction provoked by their idolatrous ways, write it themselves.

Despite his position as author of this drama, Iago does not avoid idolatrous practice, as he first must worship the handkerchief and assign it value before he can convince the other characters to believe in its power. He worships the handkerchief because this object, which holds so much importance to Othello and to Desdemona, has wondrous power to provoke an ultimate desired result in his drama. It is also essential to the audience's viewing and understanding of the play in relation to their own cultural fears, as the handkerchief is the "ocular proof" of idolatry that propels the terrific destruction in the play's final scene. From *Othello*'s start, Iago is evident as a man who recognizes the power of both word

and image and marries the two in simultaneous use, as Barkan suggests, in the high art of drama. "I have use for it" (3.3.320), he says to Emilia shortly after she finds the handkerchief and describes the importance it holds to Othello and Desdemona. After this brief explanation, the plot Iago has formulated in his mind, the play for which he has been writing scenes, is written until the final scene:

> I will in Cassio's lodging lose this napkin,
> And let him find it. Trifles light as air
> Are to the jealious confirmations strong
> As proofs of holy writ; this may do something.
> The Moor already changes with my poison:
> Dangerous conceits are in their natures poisons,
> Which at the first are scarce found to distaste,
> But with a little act upon the blood
> Burn like the mines of sulphur. (3.3.321-329)

Iago will not only plant this handkerchief in Cassio's space but in the presence of the audience as well. The mere "trifle" will become important; it will serve as a false truth in the propulsion of his own drama while at once proving such "ocular proof" false in the eyes of the audience, who know the truth of the handkerchief. This demonstrates such reliance upon relics as dangerous, for hellish tragedy is evident from this point forward.

The characters are provoked to idolize each other; they are enraptured, entrapped by appearances, by physical attraction and difference. They are caught in Iago's revenge tragedy and their idolatrous ways are placed on display for the audience to see. An audience would note the ways in which the characters worship one another, but would most strongly note the obsession with the strawberry handkerchief, as it is treated as if it were a religious relic. Othello dually worships the handkerchief, first as a token from his mother and as proof of his love for Desdemona. He feels the need to give his fair wife a physical token, a sacred relic, of their marriage, even though for a man such as Othello who defines himself through speech, his word should be evidence enough of their love. "Make it a darling like your precious eye" (3.4.66), he instructs her, insisting she worship this image as he has begun to worship hers.

"Turn thy complexion there,/ Patience, thou young and rose-lipped cherubin—/ Ay, here look grim as hell!" (4.2.62-64), Othello says to Desdemona as he likens her appearance to that of cherubim so often present in religious pictures. He later compares her to a statue: "It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul;/ Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars,/ It is the cause.Yet I'll not shed her blood,/ Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow,/ And smooth as monumental alabaster" (5.2.1-5). Here we see Othello worship Desdemona's pure image, her smooth whiteness so lovely in its sleepy stillness. It is an engaging visual masterpiece that Othello does not wish to ruin. He focuses on her visual image because by the final act, Iago has succeeded in destroying her moral one. "Peace, and be still!" (5.2.46), Othello bids his wife. He does not wish her to shut her mouth, to cease speaking. Instead, he requests that she silence the power of her image by remaining still.

His idolatry draws even closer to the religious idolatry feared by Protestants when he asks Desdemona of her honesty, questioning "Was this fair paper, this most goodly book,/ Made to write 'whore' upon?" (4.2.71-72). Desdemona's skin, her "paper" has been written upon, says Othello, but perhaps instead it has been drawn upon, inversely illuminated by Iago's iconography of her. It is here that Othello finally succumbs to the power of the image and reveals his idolatrous ways, of the word and of the image, as he compares his comely wife to a book, to the Bible, "this most goodly book," as the Bible is the goodliest book of all. Desdemona is Othello's Bible. He worships her word and also her image, and he connects the two in a most dangerous manner that would seem blasphemous to a Reformation audience.

Emilia's word solidifies Desdemona's love for the handkerchief when Othello calls the napkin "too little" (3.3.287) and drops it on the floor in apparent disgust (this is an action much in contrast with the handkerchief's significance to him). "This was her first remembrance from the Moor./...She so loves the token/ (For he conjur'd her she should ever keep it)/ That she reserves it evermore about her/ To kiss and talk to" (3.3.291, 293-296), says Emilia to no one on stage, thus directly presenting the idolatry of the handkerchief to Shakespeare's audience. A bit later, when Iago attempts

to procure the handkerchief from her for the furthering of his own drama, Emilia once again claims the handkerchief's importance to Desdemona and says "Poor lady, she'll run mad/ When she shall lack it" (3.3. 317-318). The reaction which Emilia anticipates Desdemona to have when she realizes the handkerchief is gone is what is significant, for if Desdemona does not worship the handkerchief, then she will not "run mad" when she realizes it gone. Both husband and wife commit idolatry here, as they use an object to validate the love between them. They, like the other Venetians, here regard truth as vision and demand physical proof of their love, of their marriage, and the handkerchief can thus be connected to the wedding sheets Desdemona requests just before her death. "Prithee to-night/ Lay on my bed my wedding-sheets—remember;/ And call thy husband hither" (4.2.104-106), says Desdemona to Emilia. The white sheet would be a larger version of the handkerchief, the embroidered strawberries on the white square mirroring the spots of blood from the wedding night. The sheets would have been displayed after the wedding for all Venetians to see, visual proof of Desdemona's chastity and the consummation of their marriage.

Just as the Venetians would see the stained wedding sheets as proof of Desdemona's virginity, Othello, whom Iago manipulates to depend more and more upon the image throughout the play, sees the handkerchief as proof of her chastity; when it goes missing, he sees it as evidence of her betrayal.

> She with Cassio hath the act of shame
> A thousand times committed. Cassio confess'd it,
> And she did gratify his amorous works
> With that recognizance and pledge of love
> Which I first gave her. I saw it in his hand;
> It was a handkerchief, an antique token
> My father gave my mother. (5.2.211-217)

When Desdemona cries "I never did/ Offend you in my life; never lov'd Cassio/ But with such general warranty of heaven/ As I might love. I never gave him token" (5.1.58-61), Othello, taking the handkerchief over her word as proof of her chastity (absence of handkerchief equating absence of blood on the wedding sheets, indicating a lack of chastity), does not believe her. Othello then submits to

Iago's act of iconoclasm, to the destruction of Desdemona's image and his own identity that occurs in the play's final scene.

In Iago's revenge tragedy, what is perhaps most tragic of all is that because his characters function also as actors and audience, the reality is complexly concealed, yet astounding—he effectively and entirely enthralls his fellow characters through the marriage of word and image, and all this is revealed to Shakespeare's audience. In doing this, Shakespeare offers a warning on idolatry, on the reliance upon relics as truth, and rehearses Elizabeth's iconoclastic mandates before the London public, while at once recreating and pushing upon them a fear of theater as Iago's drama unfolds before them.

"'[Tis] in ourselves that we are/ thus or thus" (1.3.319-320), Iago claims early on in the play, a statement likely to stir the audience, for in reality, it is not in themselves to be thus or thus, but in Elizabeth, as she sought to create a new identity for her people, as Iago does his characters, through a destruction of their former, Catholic selves. But instead, through her patronage of Protestant theater, she desired not to create false visages, but pure, true ones, and wished to have their faces painted over with the dramatic medium. The self is reflected most clearly for the audience amidst the tragedy's ending destruction, when Emilia, the only character who does not become entirely enthralled by Iago's drama, demands the truth be heard from her mouth. "I am bound to speak" (5.2.184), she says, as she knows of the truth of the handkerchief. In fact, the entire play, the whole act of iconoclasm pivots on her character, as she is the one who provides Iago with the handkerchief. She could return it to Desdemona, she could take out the work and thus make it an ordinary napkin; she could keep it for herself or toss it away. Instead, she allows it to be used in the creation of a tragedy in which only she sees the true root of destruction. In this way, then, Emilia functions as an audience would, as an audience once did in Catholic drama, as she is entirely involved in the drama until she realizes her sin and steps into the Protestant rhetorical gaze. When Emilia realizes that the action of the play depends upon her own action, just as a viewer realizes the function of a picture relies on

her presence, she repents and speaks in order to prevail word as truth. "I speak true;/ So speaking as I think, alas, I die" (5.2.250-251), she says, and along with her dies any sense of enthrallment, that last sense of Catholic dramatic identity still caught in the audience, as they too have realized their spectacular sin.

Shakespeare's movement through acts of iconography, idolatry, and iconoclasm in rehearsal of the audience's own fears, instructs his audience on the proper way of looking at images. He places a play within a play for eyes to gaze upon without becoming enthralled by the immediate spectacle before them, using the tragic genre to evoke the most human of emotions rooted firstly in fear, as they become aware of rather than part of Iago's revenge tragedy. Though he employs Protestant rhetoric and works to attack a certain form in order to build another, Shakespeare cannot completely destruct the dramatic form, much as Othello cannot bring himself to "shed [Desdemona's] blood,/ Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow" (5.2.3-4). And yet it is the cause, and theater, at least in its idolatrous Catholic form, "must die, else she'll betray more men" (5.2.6).

NOTES

1. Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997): 2.
2. Ibid., 2.
3. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
4. Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage.*
5. Elizabeth I, "Against the Spanish Armada, 1588," *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*, Fordham University, http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1588elizabeth.html.
6. Leonard Barkan, "Making Pictures Speak: Renaissance Art, Elizabethan Literature, Modern Scholarship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (1995): 339.
7. Patricia Fumerton, "'Secret' Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets," *Representations* 15 (1986): 60.
8. Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage*, 3.
9. Leonard Barkan, "Making Pictures Speak," 334.
10. Mrs. Oliphant, *The Makers of Venice: Doges, Conquerors, Painters and Men of Letters*, (New York: A.L. Burt, 1932): v.
11. Ibid., v.
12. Huston Diehl, *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage*, 8.
13. Bacchus is the Roman god of wine and patron of the theater.
14. James L. Calderwood, "Speech and Self in *Othello*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1987): 295.
15. Ibid., 298.
16. Ibid., 298.

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Autocratic Regimes and Democracy Promotion: Security Goals Take Precedence Over Ingrained American Values

Michael Alexander

A renewed focus on democracy promotion will not lead to a safer environment for the United States in the coming decade. While the international promotion of democracy holds to historical ideals and principles at the underpinning of the nation, such a strategy, at least under current conditions, is not in the national interest of the United States. More than ever, anti-American sentiment has heightened the likelihood that newly enfranchised populations will elect regimes that stand in opposition to U.S. goals. American presidents' policy efforts in the post-Cold War era have been unimpressive. For example, the Bush administration pressed for elections in 2006 that saw Hamas, a group viewed as a terrorist organization by many, win in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Rushed elections in Iraq saw voters base their choice on ethnic and sectarian affiliation, not political platforms.[1] Such a flawed system that lacks proper safeguards to protect minority groups is not likely to provide the framework for a successful democracy. Intervention in Iraq destabilized the entire region, putting American interests at risk as the state became fertile ground for terrorism. It is clear that while we may find certain regimes distasteful, U.S. national interests rest on the supremacy of stability, and tolerating autocratic regimes is necessary to secure America's safety in the next decade and beyond.

In the aftermath of World War I, Woodrow Wilson put forth three basic themes to foster global cooperation, a principal component being that "harmony is the natural order of international affairs."[2] In order to achieve such a condition the United States needs to work with autocracies. America has a long history of working with dictators, with effective results. The country was born from an alliance with monarchical France, and working with the Soviet Union ensured victory in World War II.[3] In their article "Democratization and War," Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder maintain that a weak central government is the byproduct of democratization.[4] The absence of established democratic coalitions produces weak leadership grounded on ethnic or nationalist ideology. Historically, autocratic regimes have provided greater stability in much of the world than weak democratic states. The Bush administration has relied on authoritarian regimes in Egypt and Saudi Arabia in the face of Islamic fundamentalism, and it is unlikely that democratic regimes in that region would have the strength or motive to provide assistance in the War on Terror.

Proponents of a democratic peace maintain the theory that democracies do not go to war with one another.[5] While the theory is widely accepted, this circumstance can feasibly be ascribed to the bipolar structure of the Cold War, when the threat from the communist states forced democracies to ally with one another. However, there is really no guarantee that even stable democracies will not wage war against each other. Mature, stable democracies have the foundations in place to deal with political upheaval, while transitioning democracies do not. Mansfield and Snyder argue that transitioning democracies are more likely go to war than autocracies, transitioning autocracies and mature democracies. In such a period, countries become "more aggressive and war-prone."[6] A rise in nationalism is prevalent as the mass public and elites converge in the new state order. The case of Serbia and Croatia highlights the need for a multilateral force in democracy promotion. After the fall of communism the two states went to war as they attempted democracy. The NATO coalition that went into the ruins, with a goal to bring about a new order, had a greater legitimacy because of its broad based support.[7] If the U.S. follows a foreign policy-based

on nation-building, it needs to act in concert with its allies to avoid false perceptions of U.S. goals.

Transnational terror groups can take advantage of states in flux, as evidenced by Al-Qaeda's revival in Iraq. Certainly terror groups are not the only threat to the United States from transitional states. While proponents of democracy promotion believe states will become moderate, it is just as likely that such states will move towards a radical ideology. Islamic fundamentalist groups could be elected in weak democratic regimes, especially in states where it would be sacrilegious for females to vote. While a legitimately elected Islamic state may not explicitly promote and sponsor terror, a push for democracy could easily coincide with a rise in terror. The openness and liberalism inherent in such a system could arouse anti-establishment sentiment among the fundamentalist Muslim population threatening the stability of a weak democracy.

In order to facilitate a smooth transition to a stable democracy, it may be necessary for the U.S. to maintain a greater presence in a country's evolution towards becoming a stable democratic state. Paradoxically, such a presence is often blamed as the basis for populist, anti-American sentiment in the Middle East and other areas of the world. Al-Qaeda referred to the presence of American military bases in Saudi Arabia as grounds for their terrorist actions.[8] Saudi Arabia produces a significant portion of America's oil, which is vital to this country's economy and powers the American fleet. While the U.S. currently maintains friendly relations with the royal family of Saudi Arabia, a democratic transition would certainly produce instability. Zbigniew Brzezinski notes that political awakenings have historically been "anti-imperial, anti-Western and increasingly anti-American."[9] If given the chance, the public in Saudi Arabia could follow such a course and an antagonistic regime could easily create a situation hostile to US national security.

The Bush administration's policy failure has given rise to the perception that democracy promotion is a new form of imperialism pushing American cultural values on the rest of the world. An argument can be made that democracy is culturally rooted in the Western tradition and not an unequivocal universal good. In *Clash of Civilizations*, Samuel Huntington maintains societies with

different cultural backgrounds should have the freedom to choose their own form of government.[10] The United States is often critical of revolutionary intervention by foreign regimes; however it rarely acts in the same manner for its own conduct.[11] America's role as a protector of the world has given it a higher moral standing to intervene on humanitarian grounds. Acting purely on national interest would diminish America's prestige and in the process take away a critical aspect of American identity in the foreign policy realm. Such a loss of identity would "weaken domestic support for U.S. involvement in world affairs and undermine Washington's ability to influence its allies."[12]

A perception has emerged linking the War on Terror and democracy promotion. Such a view is particularly damaging in Muslim societies where there is significant suspicion over U.S. military intervention.[13] The outlook for similar policy goals can improve if the U.S. improves its credibility at home and abroad. The Bush administration had a general distrust of international law and international institutions.[14] The administration appeared as a unilateral force, indifferent to other cultures. Coupled with the international protest to Guantánamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, the prestige of the United States had taken a measurable hit.

America must learn from its past mistakes to achieve a safe environment. A clear lesson from the Vietnam War was that the White House needs domestic support to wage a prolonged intervention. The Bush team lost domestic support for Iraq partially due to its failure to straightforwardly explain the reasoning for long-term intervention. In order to regain global approval for democracy promotion, the United States cannot once more tout the ideals of democracy promotion by incorporating rhetoric that does not align with the strategy on the ground. The U.S. compromises its alliances with autocracies by employing such rhetoric. In a number of cases these autocratic leaders have demonstrated better support for economic and national security goals than democratically elected regimes have. It is clear that while supporting autocracies runs contrary to the ingrained domestic philosophy, the current danger in not maintaining stability is too great.

NOTES

1. Ayad Allawi, "How Iraq's Elections Set Back Democracy," *The New York Times* (Nov 2, 2007), http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/02/opinion/02allawi.html.

2. Henry Kissinger, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: Towards a Diplomacy for the 21st Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 244.

3. Francis Fukuyama and Michael McFaul, "Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?" *The Washington Quarterly* 31 no. 1 (Winter 2007): 36.

4. Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and War," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 1995): 83.

5. Jerel A. Rosati and James M. Scott, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy*, 4th ed. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2006), 523.

6. Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and War," 79.

7. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower* (New York: Basic Books, 2007) 117.

8. Fukuyama and McFaul, "Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?" 38.

9. Brzezinski, *Second Chance*, 205.

10. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993).

11. Kissinger, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* 237.

12. Fukuyama and McFaul, "Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?" 35.

13. Thomas Carothers, "Repairing Democracy Promotion." *Washington Post*, Sept. 14, 2007.

14. Fukuyama and McFaul, "Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?" 35.

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Contributors

MICHAEL ALEXANDER '09 graduated from Washington College with a B.A. in political science. The recipient of the 2008 Roy Ans Fellowship in Jewish American Studies, he has particular interest in international affairs and American foreign policy. While once an active member of the college community, he is now ready for life after Chestertown. Michael plans to change the world.

ALYSE BENSEL is an English and environmental studies major at Washington College. She currently serves as the Co-President of the Student Environmental Alliance and the Senior Editor of the *Collegian* while participating actively in Afro-Cuban Ensemble and Vocal Consort. Alyse is a member of the Douglass Cater Society of Junior Fellows, Sigma Tau Delta, and Omicron Delta Kappa. She also works as a peer consultant at the Writing Center and a desk assistant at Miller Library. When not insanely busy, she writes on and works on poetry and environmental nonfiction and chases toads in thunderstorms.

AILEEN BRENNER graduated *summa cum laude* with the Class of 2009, and is a recipient of the Maureen Jacoby Prize. As a drama major (with a thesis in performance) and a creative writing minor, Aileen spent her time at WC surrounded by the creativity, art, and people she loves. In addition to an absurd number of drama department productions, Aileen was Editor in Chief of the *Pegasus* yearbook, co-president of Fakespeare, a Literary House fellow, a College Relations photographer, a clarinet student, and a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Omicron Delta Kappa, the Douglass Cater Society of Junior Fellows, and the Riverside Players. Sometimes she also managed to sleep. Though her plans for the future are largely uncertain, she is sure they will involve living at home, and a lot of waitressing.

ARIELLE BROWN is a "foodie" and aspiring singer-songwriter, and once was a psychology major and philosophy minor at Washington College. In her off time, she likes to analyze interpersonal relationships and discern why people do and say the things that they do. Sometimes it makes her head hurt, but she keeps on analyzing anyway. Arielle plans to take several years off after her college graduation to experience the world—or as many parts of it as she can. Her long-term aspirations are to own her own catering company, which will hopefully and eventually turn into a delectable café/diner on the West Coast that will host live music on the weekends. She will, in essence, create her home where she works... or at least that's the goal. She'll let you know how it all works out.

LAUREN CAMPBELL does not like to talk about herself in the third person, rejects conservatism, and becomes homicidal at the sight of grammatical errors—that being said, she hopes she does not perpetrate one as she types this bio. She graduated *magna cum laude* in 2009 with a B.A. in English, spent summer '08 interning at *Fence Magazine* (thanks Josh Shenk!), and had a blast as the Editor in Chief of the *Collegian* 2008-09. Lauren is currently working as a barista in Baltimore, writing incessantly, and attempting to train her sassy beagle Sidney. She is actively sending out submissions and MFA applications, and has since begun to recycle.

GRACE HARTER is a senior majoring in international studies. She has studied abroad in England, South Africa, and Turkey. In addition to traveling, she loves art history and wishes she had the time to double major. She is a member of Zeta Tau Alpha and the Douglass Cater Society of Junior Fellows. After graduation, she hopes to continue working and traveling internationally.

DARBY HEWES is a studio art major seeking a second bachelor's degree. With her son and husband, Darby enjoys many hours exploring the vast resources of the Chesapeake Bay. Prior to Washington College, Darby enjoyed a successful fifteen-year career as a teacher, designer and construction specialist. Self-taught in photography,

painting, graphic design and digital visual communication, she followed design to a second career. Thus, she retired and began a freelance graphic design career for various non-profit groups. In the future, she hopes to obtain a master's degree to teach art while continuing to produce studio art, graphic design, and photography, as well as write and illustrate books.

JESS HOBBS, child of Accokeek, MD, and alumna *cum laude* '09, takes to the page like a fish without a bicycle; just so, with a mixture of innocence and wisdom, fury and grace, she's swum the veins of this school, shaking things up. A member of the victorious Koopa Troopa step team, Jess danced from her role as media intern for the Student Events Board to organizer of the campus's first drag ball. She's got some rugby experience, too, as you may see in the way she tackles her non-profit work throughout the basements and grated windows of Adams Morgan. Her allusive humor and her stubbornly honest memory have begun, in her thesis and other writing, to cast widening ripples across the waves of feminist philosophy and queer film studies. Currently Jess is interning at the National Organization for Women (NOW) in DC, continually gathering material for a future as a documentary filmmaker.

ALIINA LAHTI is a 2009 graduate of Washington College where she finished with a degree in biology and honors in her second major, studio art. She is most passionate about soccer, the environment, and experiencing nature, especially through camping and hiking. Having ventured from her Wyoming roots, she studied in Australia and at the Maryland Institute College of Art, striving to expand her understanding of different cultures, people, and her world. By combining her loves of both art and biology, Aliina aspires to open the eyes of the world to the possibility and importance of conserving its magnificent environs.

CAPELLA MEURER was born to an Australian mum and American dad in Canberra, Australia and is named after a star in the constellation Auriga. She is a Washington College graduate

with a psychology degree, with a clinical counseling concentration. During her time at Washington College she returned to Australia, first to study at Monash University, then to work at the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency (VACCA). It was during these visits that she developed and nourished a strong desire to work in Aboriginal aid in Australia. Following graduation she has begun pursuing job opportunities and hopes to be back in her "sunburnt country" within a year.

ERIN O'HARE, Class of 2009, extracted all that she could out of her undergraduate degree at Washington College. After realizing that she thoroughly enjoys criticizing the hell out of the likes of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and their dramatic contemporaries, as well as various artists, she couldn't choose which subject she liked better—English or art history. Fortunately, she was able to study both subjects closely together, and completed work on a double thesis that combines theories and works from each, of which "'Tis A Pageant to Keep Us in False Gaze'" is a chapter. Beginning in the fall of 2009, Erin will pursue an M.A. in English Literature at the University of Virginia, where she will continue to apply visual theories to early modern play-texts.

EMILY PELLAND '12, a Baltimore native, loves traveling, writing poetry, and photography. She participates in theatre and will begin her position as the Photography Editor for the *Elm* in the 2009-10 academic year.

CORINNE SAUL is an art major and 2009 graduate of Washington College. During her time there she has been a member of the Equestrian team, the Pep Squad, and the *Collegian*. Corinne spends most of her time working on some form of art, whether it is painting, photography, or ceramics. Corinne would like to thank all of her professors and family for the drive and support they have given her and her art, including *Side Effects May Include...*, her senior thesis published in the *Washington College Review*.

MARIA TAYLOR is 22 years old. At Washington College she was a studio art major, working primarily with charcoal and pencil. She studied under the careful guidance of Professor Monika Weiss and credits her professor with sharpening and expanding her talent. Maria is a resident of Ocean City, Maryland and was born and raised on the Eastern Shore.

DEREK TROTT graduated from Washington College in 2009, receiving a B.A. in psychology with a concentration in clinical counseling. Derek was the captain of the varsity crew team during his junior and senior years, and was a student athlete mentor as well. Derek was a member of the Kappa Alpha Order, Beta Omega chapter, one of WC's four fraternities. When not studying psychology he enjoys cycling, running, rowing, playing guitar, driving, scuba diving and drinking coffee. Derek hopes to one day acquire a Ph.D. and become a practicing psychologist.

BESS TROUT—yes, just like the fish, which works well considering her chosen line of work—is a graduated environmental studies major with two minors, one in anthropology and one in creative writing, as well as a specialization in Making a Living doing Jobs that Pay Nothing. She wrote this piece because she believes that introducing traditional environmental knowledge into the environmental field is one of the most important things that we can do as global citizens. Go on and read her paper to find out why! She tried to keep it interesting. Congratulations to everyone else in the *Review*; she feels so lucky to have gone to school with you all.

LAURA B. WALTER, *Student Editor*, is an English major and art minor who was excited to draw from both disciplines in editing the *Washington College Review*. She wants to thank Michele Volansky and everyone at College Relations for the opportunity to work on this project and for teaching her so much about publications. After graduating in 2010, Laura is now quite certain publishing is in her future. Finally, thanks to the contributors for sending such amazing work and to Zumba for keeping her dancing all summer long.

Colophon

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